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GREEK RITES OF STEALING

HERBERT JENNINGS ROSE
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

THERE is a passage in Xenophon's pamphlet on the Constitution of Sparta[1] which has given rise to puzzlement and consequent bad criticism. An obscure German dissertation[2] talks of its corruption and Marchant[3] brackets it in his edition. I hope to show that it is perfectly explicable and that light is thrown upon it by a strange story in Herodotos.

Xenophon is explaining, after the shallowly rationalistic method of his day, that certain curious customs attributed to Lykurgos were justified by that doubtfully historical legislator's prudence, especially in things military. The Greek runs thus: *καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἁρπάσαι τύρους παρ' Ὀρθίας καλὸν θείς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος ὅτι ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεσθαι.* It is simple, straightforward and, so far as I can judge, fully Xenophontic in style and content. It may be rendered,

> And, while he ruled that it should be accounted honorable to snatch as many cheeses as possible from Orthia, he ordered others to beat these (the stealers of cheeses). Here again he wished to make it evident that it is possible, at the cost of brief pain, to enjoy good repute for a long time.

I have dealt elsewhere with this passage in another context[4] and there described the performance as

> some kind of rough game: cheeses are laid, perhaps, on the altar; a young man, or a party of young men, try to snatch them, while certain other

[1] Xenophon, De re publica Lacedaemoniorum, 2, 9.

[2] Fooke Habben, De Xenophontis libello qui *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία* inscribitur (diss., Münster, 1909), p. 9.

[3] In vol. V (Opuscula) of the Oxford Classical Texts edition of Xenophon.

[4] Artemis Orthia (Hellenic Society, Supplementary Paper No. 5, London, Macmillan, 1929), p. 405. I there give references, or what seem to be such, to this rite in other Greek authors.

persons defend them with sticks or whips. It was for the lad with the thickest skin and the quickest hands to win.

But I now see that it is no game but a piece of ritual, to be paralleled from another Greek rite.

It has, I hope, been sufficiently demonstrated by myself and certain of my predecessors that Xenophon is not speaking of the notorious *diamastigosis* or competitive flogging of the Spartan boys, a rite for which we have no witness earlier than Cicero. The object of the boys' or young men's efforts is not in this case to endure as many blows as possible without showing signs of pain, but to steal as many cheeses as possible from the goddess, whether that means from her altar, the feet of her statue or some other place in her precinct. In other words, it is a ritual theft, complicated perhaps by a ritual beating, the familiar *Schlagen mit der Lebensrute*. The latter ceremony we know is Greek, for it is part of the ritual of the *pharmakoi*, which is too familiar and has been too often discussed to need recital here. I believe we can find good evidence that the former is equally Greek, and moreover that it was practised in the worship of a goddess often equated with Orthia and interested, like her, in fertility, the Samian Artemis.

Herodotos tells us[5] that Periandros, tyrant of Corinth, having a quarrel with Corcyra, sent three hundred boys, children of leading Corcyraeans, to the East to be castrated. On the way, however, their conductors stopped at Samos, and there the people learned of the purpose of their journey. Pitying the unfortunate children, they advised them to take refuge at the temple of Artemis. The Corinthians dared not remove them by violence from this holy place, where they were the suppliants of the goddess, but blockaded it, hoping to starve the boys out. Once more the Samians had a counter-stroke ready, for "during all the time the children were suppliants, they instituted dances of maidens and youths, and in doing so they made it the rule that cakes of sesame and honey should be carried, so that the children of the Corcyraeans might snatch them and have food. This was continued until the Corinthian guards of the

[5] Herodotos, iii, 48, 2 ff.

children departed; and the Samians returned the boys to Corcyra."

There was no little heart-searching in antiquity over this moving tale. Plutarch[6] gives us the counter-version, that it was not the Samians at all who effected the rescue, but the Knidians. He, or rather his authorities, Antenor author of a History of Crete (Κρητικὰ) and Dionysios of Chalkis, quote documents in favor of their view, consisting of various honors and privileges known to have been awarded the Knidians in Corcyra. Pliny[7] adds an interesting detail, plainly aetiological, that the creature known as the echineis or remora clung to the Corinthian ship (there cannot, then, in his version of the event, have been as many as three hundred boys, for how could room be found for them, with their guards and the crew, on a ship of Periandros' day?) and stopped her, and that is why shells of echineides were venerated in the temple of Aphrodite at Knidos. That Periandros did send some young people, presumably hostages, to one of his Oriental acquaintances, whether for the purpose mentioned or not, is far from impossible; if his aim was merely to have them kept safe out of all possibility of rescue, the worse motive would inevitably be attributed to him, for no story was too bad to believe of a tyrant. That the Herodotean account is met by grave chronological difficulties has been repeatedly pointed out by commentators, from Larcher on. Our concern, however, is not with the date but with the credibility of the story in Herodotos. Supposing that it really was the Samians and not the Knidians who rescued the children, it surely is clear that there was no need of such a roundabout method as that said to have been adopted. The boys were on the territory of a sovran state not, so far as is known, in any way subject to Corinth and certainly possessed of some kind of war-fleet with which to defend herself against possible reprisals from Periandros. Why, then, did the islanders not simply tell the Corinthians to leave their temple and its suppliants alone and quit Samian territory? To ask them to surrender suppliants would be a step not lightly undertaken by anyone,

[6] De malignitate Herodoti, 859E ff.

[7] Pliny, N. H., ix, 80, citing Mutianus as his authority.

especially at that fairly early date, when Greece took holy things very seriously and the inviolability of a temple was a serious fact and not a pious hope. The situation is more like those we meet in Tragedy or even Comedy than one from real life.

Personally, I have no doubt at all that Herodotos has hold of a local aetiological myth. He was well informed concerning the island,[8] evidently from local accounts supplemented by his personal observations. This, of course, says nothing for the trustworthiness of his account as against that of the Knidians, any more than the probability that his Egyptian stories are really Egyptian enables them to outweigh the evidence of the surviving monuments of that country when the two are in disagreement. But it does warrant us in believing that the story of the boys and their rescue is genuine Samian. Pursuing, therefore, the usual lines of modern criticism of such a tale, we may be as skeptical as we please about the rescue, but cannot reject the fact it purports to explain, the dance and the snatching of the sweet cakes. Herodotos says it was instituted in the days of Periandros; he does not say that it was ever discontinued, and I think we may safely assume that it had not been.

We have, therefore, as a parallel to the snatching of Orthia's holy cheeses (for they would, of course, be holy from the mere fact of their presence in the shrine), the snatching of Artemis' holy cakes. That they had been in the hands of dancers would certainly not lessen their sacred nature.[9] Holy things, then, are ritually snatched or stolen both at Sparta and in Samos.

This, which at first sight looks like a tolerated or even enjoined sacrilege, is in reality a quite understandable piece of sacred magic, for theft is often part of a beneficent charm. A glance at such a periodical as Folk-Lore (I refer to the London publication, not the Journal of the American Folklore Society) will furnish instances, which might easily be increased. I give the first few which come to hand. In Co. Clare, Ireland, warts

[8] See Herodotos, iii, 60, especially 60, 4, where the words τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν point to firsthand acquaintance with Samos.

[9] For the holiness of choreutai, see, e.g., Aristophanes, Frogs, 686; Demosthenes, xxi, 53.

may be cured by rubbing them with a stolen piece of meat.[10] In Ireland again (locality not stated) house-leek will protect a roof, but only if it has been stolen.[11] There is a Moorish beauty-charm involving the use of a stolen piece of linen.[12] In Pembrokeshire (Wales) the turnip which is used for a charm to see a future husband must be stolen, not given nor bought.[13]

The underlying idea I take to be that the stolen object contains some part of the personal *mana* of its rightful owner; and that, as it has been filched from him, he is less likely to know that it is gone and take measures to render it magically valueless. Also, the thief, not having bought it or given anything in exchange, has parted with none of his own power. If this or anything like it is true of things stolen from ordinary people, it is certainly much more true of pilferings from a goddess, and a goddess of fertility at that. The objects thus acquired would be heavily charged with most desirable potencies, wholesome for the user in various ways. Yet to steal from a holy place or person is no light matter, nor did Greek law regard it as venial. We must, therefore, conclude that the privileged thief had himself been put into a condition sufficiently sacred for his action to be without ill consequences, involving no disastrous contact of things *tabu* and *noa*. I conjecture that at Sparta his unholiness had been knocked out of him, and holiness knocked in, by the salutary contact of the implements with which he was beaten as he came up to steal the cheeses; for the whips, or whatever were used, would be sacred no less than the food itself, being used, presumably, by ministers of Orthia in her shrine. At Samos, we may explain the detail of the Corcyraean children taking refuge at the altar[14] by assuming that the ritual thief touched or sat at it, no doubt with proper ceremonial, and so made himself worthy to abuse, in permitted fashion, the indulgence of the dread but kindly deity.

[10] Folk-Lore, xxii (1911), p. 57.

[11] Folk-Lore, xxv (1914), p. 258, where see note 1 for several further instances.

[12] Folk-Lore, xxxviii (1927), p. 319.

[13] Folk-Lore, xxxix (1928), p. 173.

[14] Herodotos does not specifically mention the altar, but says in general ἱροῦ ἅψασθαι, iii, 48, 2; but it is safe to assume that the children did sit at it, for that was the regular posture of suppliants throughout Greece.

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CHRISTOPHER MEIDEL AND THE FIRST NORWEGIAN CONTACTS WITH QUAKERISM

HENRY J. CADBURY

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FIFTEEN years ago when some two million Americans of Norwegian ancestry were celebrating the centennial of the first migration from Norway to America I published in these pages an account of the Quaker antecedents of the famous voyage of the sloop *Restaurationen*. From English, Norwegian and American sources it was possible to recount the story of a group of Norwegian prisoners of war in prison ships on the Thames who were befriended and converted by English Quakers and returned home in 1814 to Stavanger and elsewhere to establish Quaker meetings. One of these men, Lars Larsen, with men of like independence, such as Cleng Peersen who preceded him and Knud Andersen Slogvig who followed, organized an escape from the clerical oppressions in Norway, purchased a small ship, and landing in New York in October 1825, proceeded inland to found in western New York the first of many Norwegian settlements in the United States.[1] The following scattered data are now collected to indicate some earlier contacts between the English Quakers and Norway.

I

The earliest continuous settlement of Friends in Norway dates, as has been said, from as late as 1814. This is all the more remarkable as in other countries like the Netherlands

[1] 'The Norwegian Quakers of 1825,' Harvard Theological Review, XVIII, 1925, pp. 293–319. Some interesting further evidence of the Quaker connection has been unearthed. See my articles 'De første norske Kvækere i Amerika,' Decorah-Posten (Decorah, Iowa), 1925; 'De første Kvækere i Stavanger,' ibid., 1926; 'Four Immigrant Shiploads of 1836 and 1837,' Studies and Records, Norwegian-American Historical Association, II, 1927, pp. 20–52. Cf. John Cox, Jr., 'Norwegian Friends in Western New York,' Friends' Intelligencer, LXXXII, 1925, pp. 829 f., 848 ff., and Theodore C. Blegen, 'John Quincy Adams and the Sloop "Restoration,"' included as an Appendix, pp. 599–628, in his Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition, Northfield, Minn., 1940. See also the second chapter in the same author's Norwegian Migration to America 1825–1860, Northfield, Minn., 1931.

and northern Germany Quakerism was not only preached but planted in the seventeenth century. The very first decade of Quaker history saw extraordinary missionary activity not only in the British Isles but across Europe from France and Holland as far as Alexandria, Jerusalem, Smyrna and Constantinople and along the coasts and islands of the western Atlantic from Newfoundland to Surinam. Evidently Norway was not neglected. Unfortunately it is mentioned only in lists. These indicate the scope of the Quaker outlook. George Fox in a general epistle dated 1659 adds this postscript about books:

> And so, if any Friends have Friends (or Relations) beyond Sea, send them Books or Papers, and be diligent to spread the Truth; and send them Latin Books, or French Books, or other Books to Leghorn, France, Poland, Italy, Norway, Low-Countries, etc.[2]

In the following year the first business meeting of Friends for all England was held at Skipton in the month of April. A document issued then reports:

> . . . certain information from some Friends of London of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbados, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland, through all which Friends have passed in the service of the Lord.[3]

A later reference to the foreign work of Friends, in an unpublished narrative by George Fox, though it mentions no exact year appears to imply an early time. Speaking of the Cumberland Quakers John Graves, John Tiffin, John Banks, John Burnyeat, Richard Wilson and John Wilkinson, Fox says that they "came to be able ministers and preacht the Gospel freely

[2] A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, 1698, No. 181, p. 140. Fox does not suggest here books in the language of Norway, and in fact Quaker books in Danish must have been very few until the translations by Meidel, to be mentioned later, were published. For the seventeenth century I can mention only one, both small and rare (not named in Joseph Smith's Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books). It is John Higgins, A Message from the Lord, first printed in English in 1658 and translated into Dutch in 1659. The Danish title (taken from James A. Williams, Americana, Catalogue 10, [1937], No. 1431) runs: Saa liuder eet af John Higgins Skrifter udsat af Engelsk. Her udi er forklart Herrens Budskap, etc. Prentet i Amsterdam, Aar 1666.

[3] A. R. Barclay, Letters &c. of Early Friends, p. 292.

and many others besides these. And some of them went into Scotland and some into Ireland and some into Norway to preach the Gospel freely." [4]

It is not until 1674 that a named Quaker missionary to Norway emerges from the scanty records. This is William Bayly, a sea captain of Poole, who married Mary Fisher, the intrepid woman whose labors included the first visit of any of her sect to Massachusetts and an interview with the Sultan after a foot journey alone across Europe. In the "Collection of the Wrightings of William Bayly" is one entitled:

To a People much Given to Drunkenness and Swearing &c. Being the copy of a paper given forth (at Polch-Ground within the Haven of Long-Sound) in Norway (the 20th of the fifth moneth 1674) in the King of Denmark's Dominion.[5]

II

Of all visits of Quakers to Norway in these early days the most extraordinary was that of a group of men and women prisoners who spent twenty days in Bergen harbor in March or April 1666. The circumstances of this visit must be narrated in some detail.

The first Conventicle Act, adopted to prevent the danger of Quaker insurrection in England, came into effect July 1, 1664. It forbade conventicles or meetings containing five or more persons beyond the household, and provided for any person sixteen years old or older convicted under this act sentences which for the third offence involved transportation to the British plantations.

In London this law resulted in the rapid accumulation of Quaker prisoners. Indeed very few except Quakers seem to have exposed themselves to it. Richard Baxter writes:

Here the fanatics called Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, and were dragged away daily to the Common Gaol, and yet desisted not, but the rest came next day nevertheless, so that the Gaol at Newgate was filled with

[4] How the Lord by his Power and Spirit did Raise up Friends (MS. at Friends Reference Library, London).

[5] Op. cit., London, 1676, pp. 739–743. Presumably this is Porsgrund in Langesund.

them. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still! And the poor deluded souls would sometimes meet only to sit still in silence, when, as they said, the Spirit did not speak, and it was a great question whether this silence was a religious exercise not allowed by the Liturgy, &c. . . . Yea, many turned Quakers, because the Quakers kept their meetings openly and went to prison for it cheerfully.[6]

Altogether a hundred and fifty-three London Quakers are known to have been sentenced to banishment though very few reached the colonies. The authorities found difficulties in obtaining seamen for the purpose. Sailors were being pressed for the Dutch wars, and those who were forced to take Quakers on board in more than one instance put them ashore at another English port, in the conviction that no Englishman should be carried abroad against his will, and that some disaster would befall any master and crew that lent themselves to deporting banished Quakers. A modern historian, beginning with the situation in the spring of 1665, writes as follows:

In May there was an idea of sending the accumulation of London Quakers in a prize ship. At length the Sheriffs found a man to their purpose, named Fudge, nicknamed "lying Fudge," master of the *Black Eagle*, who boasted that he would not stick to transport even his nearest relations. Five-and-fifty Quakers were taken out of Newgate towards the end of July, and carried down the river to Fudge's ship, which lay below Greenwich in Bugby's Hole. How neatly the names fit the transaction. The sailors refused to lend a hand and the Quakers passively resisted, so only four were put on board, and the turnkeys returned the rest to Newgate. A fortnight later some soldiers from the Tower finished the sorry business: they dragged some, kicked and punched others, hove up many by legs and arms, and so in an hour's time tumbled them into the ship, thirty-seven men and eighteen women in all. Bugby's Hole in mid-August of the year of pestilence 1665 was not a pleasant spot. The Plague had come to London from Amsterdam and was now at its height, though at first the river was immune. . . .

The *Black Eagle* lay seven weeks in the river, before she made the Downs, during which time half the prisoners died, many being buried in the marshes below Gravesend. George Whitehead visited the infected ship and had a meeting on board. Fudge, the master, was arrested for debt and had trouble with his crew, some deserting, and the mate and boatswain telling him that they would not go the voyage, for if they did they would be destroyed, as they saw that the Lord was against them. Red-coat soldiers from the Tower kept guard over the prisoners: another master was found, but the ship was still in the Downs in January 1666, and did not reach Plymouth till the latter part of February, where we hear of local Friends going to the vessel's side with fresh provisions. A few hours later she was taken as a prize by a Dutch

[6] Reliquiae Baxterianae, Part II, p. 437.

privateer. The two ships, each freighted with Friends, were parted in a storm. The prize sailed round Ireland and Scotland to Norway . . .[7]

The account quoted rests largely on the narrative of Degory Marshall, who was one of the Friends upon the Dutch ship which put back successfully for Holland. As for the *Black Eagle*, I quote directly from one of its Quaker passengers, Laurence Fullove, in a letter he wrote to his uncle Amor Stoddard.

I am satisfied by Friends, that thou hast heard of our being arrived at Norway; but I shall inform thee more fully, how that after the great tempest at sea, the two ships that Friends were in lost one another. The ship that we were in kept the sea four or five days before we saw any land, and then came in sight of Norway, and had a day or two of calm weather, where we hovered to and again, endeavouring what we could for Holland; but the wind coming against us, we concluded to put into Norway, and sailed to Bergen, where we lay in the harbour about twenty days: when we came first thither many came to see us, and to them that could understand English we gave books, insomuch that many being given out, the raters of the place took notice of it, and sent orders that no more should be given. The town's people did importune us pretty much to come on shore to refresh ourselves, but the magistrates would not suffer any of the men Friends to go on shore, but the women Friends might, they said; but they had not freedom so to do. So we were not any of us a-shore in that country. After we came from thence, we were more than two weeks before we came to Holland: we were in all two months in the Hollanders' custody, before we arrived at home; but were set at liberty out of the ship called the Black Eagle, the next day after we came thither, and we passed that night for Amsterdam. Our usage, considering what men's hands we were fallen into, as to necessary food, was pretty well, and bedding we had to lie on, but left somewhat thin of clothes, considering the time of the year, and the country we were cast into; but we were generally preserved in health over all.[8]

The Quakers on both ships were thus reunited in Holland. They were helped on their way by the Amsterdam Friends, and all returned to England except John Claus, himself a Dutchman, who in spite of protests had been arrested in England as

[7] W. C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 46 ff.

[8] Amsterdam, 27 April 1666. Both this letter and the account of Degory Marshall are preserved in the Posthuma Christiana of William Crouch, 1712, pp. 87 ff. In a petition to the King at this period Elizabeth Hooton evidently refers to the Black Eagle when she writes: "What reason is there to carry us into other lands and thrust many into an old vissited ship, which was rotten & leaked water, whose blood will be laid to the charge of them that did it, and the rest we know not what is become of them, except they bee took by the Hollanders as some of them are." Emily Manners, Elizabeth Hooton, 1914, p. 54.

though he were a British citizen. The names of all fifty-five are known.[9] There is no evidence that any of them returned later to Norway or that their strange adventure there had any permanent effect. A curious echo of the affair is the statement by Geerlof Suikers in his general history that the appearance of Quakers in Holland was due to the capture by a Turkish man-of-war of an English ship transporting Quaker exiles.[10] One can at least find a curious irony of fate in the fact that it was Norwegians from prison ships in London harbor rather than English men and women imprisoned in prize ships at Bergen who finally laid the foundations of Norwegian Quakerism.

When we turn from Quaker visitors to Norway to Norwegian visitors to English Quakerism we find a few general observations in the Quaker records. Writing from London to his wife June 9, 1674, George Fox says: "Here is many Friends and of many places and here was two from Norway and some from Holland, Scotland and Ireland and three were banished from Danzig." [11] In like manner the Epistle drawn up at London Yearly Meeting in May 1683 includes Norwegians among the visitors present when it reports: "Here were some tender Friends from Dantzic, Friesland, Holland, Norway, Scotland, Ireland, and from America." [12]

The most conspicuous of such Norwegian converts to Quakerism in England was probably Christopher Meidel. Though his full career cannot now be recovered, such scattered facts about him as can be collected make an impression characteristic of the vicissitudes of many contemporary Friends, and particularly of continental converts to Quakerism.

[9] Joseph Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings, 1753, I, 406, where the names of the twenty-seven who died before the ship reached Land's End are marked with an asterisk.

[10] Algemeene kerkelÿke en wereldlÿke Geschiedenissen des Aardkloots, Amsterdam, 1721–1728. Of course Quakerism had been planted in Holland more than ten years before. See William I. Hull, The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1938.

[11] Portfolio 36–35 at Friends Reference Library, London. The spelling has been modernized.

[12] James Bowden, edit., Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, 1858, I, p. 13.

III

Christopher Meidel was born about 1659 at Aggershus, presumably in Langesund, Norway. His father was Gert Meidel (c. 1606–1696), who after some military and civil service became a shipowner in Langesund. His mother's maiden name was probably Elen Winge, but she was at the date of her marriage widow of Oluf Holck, a citizen of Tønsberg. Before her death in 1663 she had borne a son and a daughter to her first husband and to Gert Meidel not only Christopher but his older brother Gerhard and his sister Anne Sophie.

Christopher Meidel went to the Roskilde school and graduated there with his brother Gerhard in 1677. Both boys entered the ministry. Gerhard was later minister at Holden. Christopher was finally ordained on August 25, 1687, by Dr. Hans Rosing, bishop in "Akershus Stift." Prerequisite to this was a royal pardon for some youthful misdemeanor he had committed. The text of the pardon is extant, dated August 31, 1686; but the nature of his misdemeanor — whether political, theological or moral — is not known.[13]

Apparently Meidel almost at once upon ordination took up service in London. There is extant in his own hand and with his own signature the Latin oath of loyalty to the office, dated Oslo, September 14, 1687, which has been endorsed "Londen,"[14] And in a letter addressed to the Danish and Norwegian Lutheran Church in London in June 1706 he says "it is nineteen years since I was appointed to be your pastor." [15] There were apparently a great many Danes and Norwegians in London at this time, partly resident and partly temporarily there in the interests of trade. The great fire of 1666 had given great in-

[13] A. T. Gløersen, Slægten Meidell i Norge og Danmark, Kristiania, 1903, pp. 11–15, 128, 166. The latest biographical notice of Meidel, in Brøgger and Jansen, Norsk Biografisk Leksikon, IX, 1939, pp. 125 f., adds no single item of information to what Gløersen had collected. That Meidel became a student at the University of Copenhagen is shown by an entry there for 1677; see Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikul, 1611–1740, edited by S. Birket Smith, Vol. II, 1894, p. 75. This is not cited by earlier authorities.

[14] Geistlig Edsprotokol for Oslo og Hamar Stifter 1601–1730, Kristiana, 1918, p. 140.

[15] First printed in Danish in his translation of William Dell, On Baptism (see below); printed in English in 1839 in the Irish Friend, Belfast, II, p. 36.

centive to the lumber trade, and the sailors and merchants ultimately made a considerable settlement about Wellclose Square. In 1673 a German Lutheran Church was built in Trinity Lane which for some time the Danes and Norwegians attended. In 1683 Prince George of Denmark married the English Princess (later Queen) Anne, daughter of James II, and in connection with their residence in London set up his own court chapel and clergy. This did not, however, affect at first the condition of the growing Danish-Norwegian community. But in time these Scandinavians, though Lutherans like the Swedish-German community, felt the need of a place of worship of their own, one nearer to their centres of residence and one in which Danish would be used in the service instead of the unfamiliar German tongue. For this purpose a modest room was rented in a wooden house in Old Gravel Lane, Wapping, and it is probably to this congregation that Christopher Meidel was called in 1687,[16] though one account says that he came to England in the station of Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark.[17]

About 1690 Meidel resigned this position. He explains that it was because he found himself "giving that called the sacrament to persons who lived after the flesh, and in whom sin was discernible." According to Lutheran sources he introduced various irregular teachings and practices in the service and thus caused dissension. He appears to have continued holding services in his own house for a time, to which he attracted some of his former parishioners, but he finally joined the Independents and served as pastor to one of their congregations in Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield, to the mutual satisfaction of pastor and people for a number of years.[18]

[16] Harald Faber, Danske og Norske i London og deres Kirker, Copenhagen, 1915, pp. 1, 4–5, 6, 45. Cf. the same author's summary in English in his Caius Gabriel Cibber, 1630–1700, His Life and Work, Oxford, 1926, chap. XI and Johannes Smidt, Fotefar Spor av norsk Kristenliv i London, Bergen, 1927, pp. 18 f.

[17] Piety Promoted, Part X, 3rd edit., London, 1821, p. viii.

[18] Meidel, op. cit., where he says "ten years"; Faber, op. cit., p. 45. For the text of the original German documents about the separation in the Danish Lutheran congregation see E. F. Wolff, Samlinger til Historien af den danske og norske evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i London, Kjøbenhavn, 1802, pp. 391–398.

About 1699 Meidel seems to have joined Friends, so far as the term joined can be used of a Society still without formal membership. The causes that led him to this change are less known than the obstacles that for a time deterred him. In a somewhat eloquent apologia for his change addressed to his former associates, he pays tribute to the Quakers' patience under abuse and suffering, their renunciation of violence, their freedom from ceremonies in religion. But to join them involved not only obloquy of bearing the name Quaker but persecution and the loss of his income. He turned now to earn by labor of the hands a living for his family. For by this time he had a wife and children to support though nothing is known about them.

Meidel appears first in the Quaker records in 1700 and then with a characteristic Quaker "concern" for finding "some method for the publishing of Truth in his Native Country of Denmark." By July 1701 he had completed a draft of a translation into Danish of William Penn's Key,[19] i.e. "A Key Opening a Way to every Common Understanding, How to Discern the Difference betwixt the Religion Professed by the People Called Quakers, and the Perversions, Misrepresentations and Calumnies of their Several Adversaries." This brief pamphlet had already gone through a dozen English editions since it was first published in 1692. Far more extensive was his translation into Danish of the Apology of Robert Barclay. But this too had been completed and left in the hands of the London Quaker secretary, Benjamin Bealing, when, early in 1702, Christopher Meidel was embarking on a different project.[20]

This project was nothing less than a personal visit to Norway. He submitted the idea first to the Morning Meeting of London Friends who after "pretty much tender discourse with him" did not "see it safe to discourage him from his proposed voyage to Norway" but left it to the Lord "to cleare his way and satisfy him fully as to the time and service that may come upon him." If it remained still upon him to go he was advised to get the certificate usual in such circumstances from his

[19] Morning Meeting Minutes for viii 1700 in Vol. II (1692–1700); for v. 21, 1701, in Vol. III (1700–1711); cf. iv. 19, 1704.

[20] Meeting for Sufferings Minutes for ii. 24, 1702, in Vol. XV (1700–1702).

Monthly Meeting at Barking.[21] By the following November London Friends were recipients of a letter from Meidel telling "of his journey from Amsterdam by Harlingen, Bremen, Hambro, Friderickstat, and so to Norway, and of his kind reception." [22] His objective was evidently Skien, his own home town, and the present home of his brother Gerhard. In his brief visit there he met serious opposition but according to accounts relayed from a Friend in Amsterdam to a Friend in London with a copy of a letter from the Bishop of Norway to a Privy Councillor, Meidel

> was upon return from Norway to England, having been to visit his brother and relations there. But by contrary winds being driven back to Norway was enclined to stay there this winter, which being heard of by the priests and others, there seems to be some design to arrest him or at least to confine him to his lodging under pretense of his spreading Quakerisme which they alledge to be worse than Popery — As also under a suspicion of his intending to draw away the people to America.[23]

English Friends at once intervened. An account in writing vindicating Meidel and the Quakers generally was drawn up and referred to a subcommittee of four to deliver to Prince George, in the hope that he would ask the Danish ambassador in London to write favorably in the case to Norway. Five weeks later George Whitehead reported that he had seen the Prince, who said, "I am against persecution and I will do what I can for him." [24] The Friends also asked some of their merchants to write to their business correspondents in Hamburg, Copenhagen and Christiansand (?) to supply Meidel with funds if he should need them or to labor for his release if he should be imprisoned at Copenhagen. But Daniel Quare, the Quaker clock maker, who like Whitehead and Penn had long enjoyed the

[21] Minutes for i. 2. 1701/2.

[22] Ibid., for ix. 2, 1702.

[23] Ibid., xi. 4, 1702. The same information was recorded by the Meeting for Sufferings on the 15th of the same month (Minutes, Vol. XVI, 1702-1703) in slightly different form: "that a bishop has written to the governour of Norway to arrest and confine Christopher Meidel at his brother's house to prevent his spreading (as they say) the venomous doctrine of Quakerisme — also they pretend that he is imployed to hire persons there to transport themselves to America." The reference to Quaker instigation of Norwegian emigration to America a century and a quarter before the famous sloop is somewhat prophetic.

[24] Ibid., xi. 25, 1702.

confidence of royalty, was able to report first that the Danish minister had written to the King of Denmark, then that the King had ordered the release of Meidel from confinement at the Prince's request, and finally that Meidel had written to Amsterdam on March 28, 1703, "signifying that he was discharged by the King of Denmark's order — and was going to Skien to take shipping for London." [25]

The Norwegian records, diligently assembled by the Norwegian genealogist, tell of the same episode in even more detail. The authorities of Skien when they first asked how they should deal with this new phenomenon were instructed by a rescript to deal with Meidel according to law. The Council of Skien announced this to the people of the town, assembling them by the beating of drums, and commanded that anyone who knew of his misdemeanors or anyone who harbored him should immediately give information at the Council room. Though no one then appeared Meidel was evidently soon arrested, his priesthood received by ordination in 1687 was taken from him by the ecclesiastical authorities (Provsteret), and for further punishment he was held for royal instructions. These came in a rescript of February 17, 1703, addressed to the director of the Stift and the Bishop and ordered that the Quaker Christopher Meidel be given his freedom but he is commanded to betake himself by sea to foreign parts at the first opportunity under penalty of condign punishment.[26]

Though Meidel returned at once to England his travels and imprisonments had only just begun. In 1704 with John Padley he crossed to Holland to attend the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. We know that their journey extended to parts of Germany as well. They were kindly received "not only among Friends but other religious people." In 1705 in company with John Salkeld Christopher Meidel made another continental visit of which a fuller account is preserved. They passed first to Rotterdam, then to Haarlem, Amsterdam and Harlingen, at all which places they had meetings with local Friends, including the regular Quarterly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Franeker,

[25] Meeting for Sufferings Minutes xi. 29; xii. 19, 1702, and ii. 3, 1703.

[26] Gløersen, op. cit., pp. 129 f.

seat of the University of Friesland, they could arrange no meeting though they had interviews with the Library Keeper and others. At Emden, Hamburg and Friedrichstadt they had satisfactory meetings with Friends and others. Returning over much the same route and visiting the same groups they added others at Groningen, Twisk and Horn.[27]

One episode probably from one of these North German journeys is recorded by Thomas Story in his journal about seven or eight years afterwards. At the city of "Tuning" (probably Tönning in Holstein) Meidel while preaching Quakerism in the open streets was arrested by soldiers at the order of the magistrates and taken outside the walls where he spent two nights, prevented by sentinels from coming back into the city. Story, who visited the near-by Friedrichstadt in 1715, found a divine judgment in the fact that in 1712 the inhospitable city was besieged and captured by the Czar and the King of Denmark and "these banks, ditches, gates and bridges which had kept out this servant of the Lord from declaring Truth in the city, are now so levelled, filled up and demolished that a stranger can scarce discern where they have been." [28]

An even more detailed account of a conflict in England is reported of Christopher Meidel, apparently by his companion and eyewitness, Richard Claridge. On September 16, 1705, Elizabeth Skinner of Barking was buried, though a Quaker, in the Church yard. The two Quakers met the curate at the service, objected to what was going on, and publicly warned the people against the false doctrine and worship "of the church burial." [29]

But not all cases of dispute ended for Meidel with so little trouble. It is largely by accident that we learn that some time,

[27] London Yearly Meeting Minutes, Vol. 3 (1702–1708), iii. 31, 1705. "A Short account of John Salkelds and Christopher Miedells journy into Holl[d] and Part of Germany in y[e] year 1705."

[28] A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1747, pp. 496 f.

[29] Joseph Besse, edit., The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge, 1726, pp. 185–189. Here is also recorded (pp. 103–116) a Conference between Benjamin Keach a Baptist and the Quakers Claridge and Meidel held at Green's Coffee House, Finch Lane near Cornhill, London, in February 1700/1, and the note (pp. 103 f.): "C. Meidel was by Birth a Norwegian, educated at Copenhagen in Denmark and was first a Preacher to the Danes (Lutherans) in London, then Pastor of an Independent Congregation, meeting in Nightingal-Lane near East-Smithfield, London; and in the year 1699, convinced of and received Truth, as professed by the People called Quakers."

apparently in the latter half of 1705, he had been in Newgate prison. In August of that year he was asked to peruse and answer "Priest Bennet's" answer to Robert Barclay; in March he reported that he had perused it and made some observations upon it "while in Newgate, but since then he hath had little opportunity and less inclination." [30] On May Day, 1706, he was apparently at large and at home. The dancing of his neighbors in and about Stratford near Bow in Essex on that holiday called forth from him a printed broadside on the subject. In June he was "in Chelmsford Prison, for the testimony of Christ," since at that time and place he writes his address to the Danish and Norwegian Lutheran Church in London.[31]

In 1707 we find Christopher Meidel a prisoner at Launceston Castle in Cornwall, a prison frequently occupied by Friends for fifty years preceding. The cause of his imprisonment was a charge of "disturbing the priest of Liskeard in his ministerial function" for which the Justices fined him £20 at their Quarter Sessions. An appeal to the Justices written on his behalf and perhaps by him is preserved,[32] in which the writer denies the charge, declaring that he had entered the church peaceably and had spoken only after the preacher had finished. Three other charges brought against him, but denied, were that he disturbed the service in revenge for the disturbance George Keith had created in October meetings, that he was "a Jesuit or Romish priest," and that since his imprisonment he had lived "gluttonously and lasciviously."

Some light on the last charge is thrown by the records of Cornwall Quarterly Meeting which not only sent him a letter of sympathy at Launceston and encouraged him to apply to the Meeting for Sufferings for his release, but supplied him or rather the Widow Westcott with £10 per annum for his support. When he finally was out of prison in 1708 the Meeting for

[30] Morning Meeting Minutes, i. 10 and 24, 1706. Thomas Bennet, rector of St. James, Colchester, published A Confutation of Quakerism in 1705. Only after the second edition of 1709 did a Quaker answer appear, The Necessity of Immediate Revelation, by Benjamin Lindley, 1710–1713.

[31] Piety Promoted, loc. cit.

[32] The Case of Christopher Meidell, loose manuscript in the Record of Cornish Sufferings, Friends Reference Library, London.

Sufferings reimbursed the Quarterly Meeting for what they had paid, which came to £12-17-3 in all. But the Quarterly Meeting adds

It being desired by the Meeting for Sufferings at London to enquire whether Christ: Meidell went off from prison with the consent or knowledge of his keeper or prosecutours we cannot learn that either of them any way knew or consented to this going off but being gone they seem not displeased thereat.[33]

Evidently Meidel's freedom was not for long, for the following letter, the last definite information we have about him, shows that he came into the hands of the police while travelling in France early in 1708. The letter, known to us only in part and in an English form,[34] was probably written in Latin to William Sewel, the scholarly Dutch Quaker of Amsterdam.

Paris, the 22d 6 mo. 1708.

Dear friend:

The blessed God, who is pleased sometimes to lead his poor travelling children into paths of straits and difficulties, to try their faith and patience, and to shew his power and goodness in bringing them out again, has brought me along hitherto (blessed be his name!), and kept my poor soul from fainting; and is still upholding, and providing, in time of need. This day two weeks, I was brought prisoner hither; having been stopt at Pont, and kept there, and St. Lis a week more: I have, through mercy, had other prisoners' fare since I came, in the Grand Châtelet here; but my money has been expended for some time; and a letter of credit which our friend, John Davison, ordered his correspondent at Antwerp to give me, on a marchant at Lisle (for I had some thoughts of going that way), is in the hands of the Juge de la Police; neither, if I have it, can it be of any service at present, concidering the circumstances of Lisle. If thou canst find out a friend here to give a little assistance for the present, it may be of service. The Lieutenant Criminel examined me strictly, with a great deal of civility; and, after, enlarged my prison, which, at first, was pretty strait and obscure; yet the Lord was good there also. I would be glad, if I should be continued here any time, to be some how or other employed towards subsistence, if possible. We are a great many prisoners of several nations and qualities. As I was brought, chained to other prisoners, through the streets, these words I had to sound forth to the people: "Repentez vous de vos péchés, O vous Parisiens, et le bon Dieu vous visitera avec la connoissance salutaire de sa verité: et il vous aidera au temps de l'adversité, lequel viendra sur tous ceux qui persèverent dans leurs iniquités." The people were very free to give money; which (when I refused) they gave

[33] Minutes of Cornwall Quarterly Meeting (at Swarthmore, Mutley, Plymouth) for viii. 7 and xi. 6, 1707, and iv. 29, viii. 12 and xi. 4, 1708.

[34] Piety Promoted, Part X, 3rd edit., London, 1821, p. ix. W. P. is of course William Penn. The Dictionary of National Biography (LI, 284 f.) mentions a letter to Meidel in a collection of Latin letters of William Sewel, but the piece cannot be found.

the other prisoners. I am civilly and kindly used by most or all of the better sort. I desire to hear from thee, when this comes to hand; and that my dear love may be given to our friends there, as if named; and at Rotterdam and Harlaem: and when thou writest to England, mind my dear love and brotherly respects to our dear friends there, especially to W. P. So, with salutations of true love to thee, with due respects and love to thy wife and dear children — I conclude thy poor obliged friend and fellow traveller, who desires the prosperity of Zion.

C. Meidel

The date of Meidel's death is known less definitely than that of his birth. When in 1715 an inheritance from their half-sister fell to Gerhard and Christopher Meidel the former acted on behalf of Christopher's son, who was then in London. Obviously Christopher was dead then, and we hear no more of either him or his son thereafter. The latter apparently never received the inheritance either, for upon Gerhard's death in 1717 the whole inheritance was sent to London, endorsed to the name of Christopher Meidel and deposited in trust of the Crown.

Two stories unfavorable to him are related in Norwegian sources. They do not appear in Quaker sources and from their hostile character may be judged as unconfirmed. One is the report of Jørgen Erboe, customs officer in Langesund, of November 11, 1695, that C. Meidel had ruined his old father by taking away from him in England his ship *Neptunus*. The other is the statement of R. Nyerup in his Litteraturlexicon that Meidel went at last over to the Catholic religion and moved to Ireland.[35] No doubt a few Friends ended in the Catholic Church, but many more were falsely accused of Popery as was Meidel himself at Launceston.

There is also a report that I have not been able to trace or confirm that on his visit to Norway to distribute tracts he came into contact with some clericals, among them Pastor Halvor Nielsen Gierpen in Eidanger, a learned man, with whom he engaged in vehement discussion three days.[36] There is some evidence after he left Norway of Quaker books that he had sent to his brother and others in the country.[37]

[35] Gløersen, op. cit., p. 131; cf. pp. 141 f.

[36] Boken om Bøker, Aarsskrift for Bokvenner, I, 1926, p. 151. The information goes far back, to Carl Deichman (c. 1705–1780).

[37] Gløersen, op. cit., p. 130 quoting rescripts of 1704 and 1706.

Of Meidel's normal life during the few and stormy years of his Quakerism we have a little information. At the time, indeed ever since the Act of Toleration in 1689, the persecution of Quakers in England was commonly less than previously and in general Friends like Meidel were little molested. With a home apparently in or near London he evidently travelled a good deal as an itinerant minister. In an ancient list we read that "John Everet and Christopher Meidell" of "nere London" came the 8th of the 12th month 1704 from Bristol to visit the meeting at Thornbury and passed on thence to Sadbury (probably Tedbury, now Tetbury).[38]

Near the beginning of Meidel's Quaker career we have by accident a judgment by a seasoned Friend of London about two hopeful new ministers there, Meidel and a man already noted as his companion, Richard Claridge. Writing to the young Quaker nobleman Sir John Rodes, Henry Gouldney remarks:

> I know not but R. Claridge did preach in our meetings before thou went. Since, I have heard him, whose beginnings gives hopes of a growth to great service among us . . . and honest Christopher Meidell continues hopeful.[39]

Mention has been made of some of Meidel's writings. To these may be added a "narrative" which he prepared in 1708 and which was corrected by the Morning Meeting and ordered printed. No copy is identified; perhaps his absence in France prevented its publication. It may have been autobiographical or it may have dealt more generally with Quaker history. Certainly he appears in 1706 to have edited Piety Promoted, Part III, and supplied the Preface to the Reader. An even more ambitious plan of English Friends to collect data about the early history of the Society in each part of England had some impetus from him, if a copy of the undated printed questionnaire marked in ink "by C. Meidel" has been correctly so understood.[40]

His principal service to the Society of Friends may well have

[38] Ministers Visiting Thornbury 1703–1730 (manuscript at Friends Reference Library, London). Meidel is mentioned in the same list as a visitor also in 1706.

[39] Letter dated London i. 26, 1700, in S. F. Locker-Lampson, A Quaker Post-Bag, 1910, p. 78.

[40] First Publishers of Truth, edited by Norman Penney, 1907, p. 2.

been through his translations. They include William Penn's Key already mentioned, published in 1705,[41] reprinted 1738, the Treatise on Baptism by William Dell published in 1706, and Robert Barclay's two standard works, The Catechism and the Apology. These were not published until 1717 and 1738 respectively.[42] Various references in the Quaker minutes indicate that Meidel was paid for his work on these translations.

These early contacts of Quakerism with Norway are not narrated here as though they were of lasting historical importance: they are even less significant than the later story of the beginnings of Quaker groups in Stavanger and elsewhere in Norway or in America. At least one historical link may be found between the two eras. There is reason to believe that the Norwegian prisoners on the Thames in 1809–1814 were converted to Quakerism in large part by reading copies of Barclay in Meidel's Danish translation which the English Friends had put upon the prison ships.[43]

[41] For reasons that I can only guess the British Museum Catalogue suggests (with a ?) that Meidel translated this also into French as published in 1701.

[42] The MSS. are mentioned by the Meeting for Sufferings, xi. 13, 1709, and by the Yearly Meeting iv. 2, 1710, that of the Apology by the former body as early as ii. 24, 1702. Their minute of xi. 11, 1716 cited in Joseph Smith, Descriptive Catalogue of Friends Books, 1867, I, 184: "500 of C. Meidel's translation of Barclay's Apology into Danish to be printed," must be a slip of the pen for the Catechism. In Boken and Bøker, loc. cit., the assumption is made that since the Apology in Danish was published in 1738 Meidel must have been living then. But the MS. of it had long been in the hands of Friends in London who no doubt financed and arranged the posthumous publication. The new interest in the Continent felt by English Friends in the 1730's explains the imprints of that time. There were other reprints of the Apology in 1848 and of the Key in 1837, both at Stavanger, also of the former revised in 1881.

[43] See G. Richardson, The Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Norway, 1849, pp. x, 5, etc.

SOME ASPECTS OF PUEBLO INDIAN RELIGION

WILLIAM J. ROBBINS

Brown University

I

The Pueblo Indians are a group of native American tribes living on the dry mesas of New Mexico and Arizona.[1] They have had a long residence in the same area, perhaps fifteen hundred years, during which time their culture has taken on its characteristic features. Under the pressure of raids by neighboring nomadic tribes who were doubtless attracted by the promise of a rich booty in harvested grain and other foods, the Pueblos developed the form of dwelling which is still typical of them. The present structures, built from one to five stories high, terraced from front to back, should be thought of rather as reminders of habits learned in the distant past when protection from such enemy attack was the chief desideratum in village-building than simply as the survival of a cliff-dwelling stage. There was no single and exclusively cliff-dwelling period.

In 1540 the Spanish explorers found these Indians living much as they live today. Hopi, Zuni, and the Rio Grande towns were already the centres of greatest concentration. The population has decreased from some 20,000 persons in seventy towns to 15,287 persons in twenty-five towns (1937), of which five have more than a thousand inhabitants each (Hopi, 3,248; Zuni, 2,080; Laguna, 2,332; Acoma, 1,137; Isleta, 1,137).[2] We have to do then with a group of settled, agricultural Indians, living in an arid region, but capable of storing a year's supply of food. The resulting cohesion and integration of their manner of living has been a decisive factor in the development of their religion.

[1] The writer wishes to express his deep indebtedness to Professors Alfred M. Tozzer and Clyde Kluckhohn for their generous interest in the present paper and criticism of it at various stages, and to Professor Arthur D. Nock in whose Seminar its first form was read.

[2] E. C. Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion, 2 vols. (paged continuously), Univ. of Chic. Press, 1939, Map 1 and pp. ix, 1.

The permanent town life of the Pueblo Indians is in fact what distinguishes them from most other American Indians. The stability of their mode of life has made possible a development of ceremonial pattern than which we can scarcely imagine one more elaborate and far-reaching. The rebellion against the Spanish administration in 1680 revealed a startling degree of coöperation between the Pueblo villages.[3] This is remarkable since for the most part there is little of reciprocity between the several towns despite some trade relations. The citizens may, however, coöperate in some great enterprise, e.g. a movement against "Washington," but generally the towns are suspicious of one another. The Hopi word for a bad thing is "kahopi," i.e. "not Hopi."

But within the towns there is the greatest solidarity. A Zuni Indian believes his home town to be nothing less than "Itiwana," the "middle-place" of the world. It is to him what Boston once was to certain Americans, and Delphi to the ancient Greeks. Descent in the western towns is reckoned on a matrilineal basis.[4] When a couple marry, the husband goes to live with his bride's family. The women of a household own the property and the year's supply of food, although it is of course the men who work the fields. And it is women alone who may grind corn for ceremonial purposes. A curious fact is that a man's ceremonial standing is determined not by his economic position as a *père de famille* but by his relationship to his mother's line (Hopi). He returns to his maternal home for participation in many of the important rituals. He may count for somebody there, especially if he is an eldest son with married sisters living at home with their children. But in his wife's household — well, he merely lives there! In the matter of courtship, of

[3] For details of the relations of the Spaniards with the Indians in this early period, cf. a series of five articles by F. V. Scholes, 'Church and State in New Mexico' (1610–1650), in New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XI, No. 1–Vol. XII, No. 1.

[4] There are many cultural variations between the eastern and western towns. The east has been more exposed to American and Mexican influences. Matrilineal inheritance, matrilocal residence, and ceremonial relationships based upon heredity and "trespass" are not so common in the east. For many reasons most of our material concerns the central and western groups, particularly the latter (Zuni, Hopi). For extensive treatment of the variations cf. Parsons, op. cit., pp. 945–967.

which there is very little, the girl usually proposes to the boy, perhaps by offering him a sweet corn loaf. If he accepts the gift, and if his family approves as it normally does, providing the girl is of the same tribe but of a different clan, from then on the couple are more or less married. Not much public notice is given to this new relationship. It is mostly taken for granted in the nature of things. Indeed to the Pueblo mind none of the crises of life seem to be the occasion of extreme concern and anxiety. The relative absence of tension in the ordinary human relationships has its counterpart in the correspondingly slight attention paid to the "rites de passage" which elsewhere are made very important and which mark off and render safe the crossing of the critical frontiers of life (cf. below, p. 42). Nothing so personal as these experiences is likely to be stressed in a culture as highly socialized and traditionalized as that of the Pueblos.[5] The individual here counts only as a member of the group. The man who is tainted with ambition and the desire to make a name for himself in the community, and the woman who makes herself conspicuous by clinging to an unfaithful husband through thick and thin -- such persons are frowned upon by the Pueblos, and may indeed find themselves unhappily accused of being witches. The person who knows how to make a concession, not refusing to yield, agreeable, willing to coöperate to the point of merging his personality in the life of the group — this is the respected member of a Pueblo tribe.

But we do not mean to suggest the absurd idea that every Pueblo is so altruistic and devoted to his homeland that he has no private ambition or desire for personal recognition.[6] As a matter of fact there is just as much opportunity to render yourself worthy of approval here as elsewhere. Who could believe that so powerful a drive as the desire for the esteem of one's

[5] For a long time now the Pueblos have not been seriously threatened by foreign cultures, except perhaps that of the Ute and Comanche. Their relative security from the outside has probably been the factor which has kept their initiation rites from being more conspicuous. Such puberty rites are self-protective in the sense of widening the breach between your culture and that of your neighbors. Cf. article on 'Initiation' by Miller in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 8.

[6] This is almost what one feels led to believe from parts of Ruth Benedict's book, Patterns of Culture, Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1934.

fellows could be suppressed in any way?[7] The fact seems to be that here you seek your personal end in a different, shall we say quieter, way. The pattern of distinction among the Pueblos lies in your very willingness to accept the *costumbres*, whether social or religious, of the tribe to which you belong. Most of the traditional ways of doing things have some religious bearing. And a Pueblo wins standing among his colleagues on a basis of his knowledge of and participation in the ceremonial life of the community.[8] This involves the learning in the proper way and from the proper persons of a vast accumulation of unwritten songs, myths, prayers and ritual actions. Prayers are ineffective unless recited letter-perfect. They must moveover be acquired in the established manner and employed in the proper setting of action and environment. Ritual fasting and seclusion are regularly enjoined upon participants in major religious ceremonies.

It is not surprising that, in order to master the complicated ceremonial patterns, the Pueblos should use every possible aid in the form of mnemonic devices and association of ideas. One of the characteristics of the Pueblo pattern is its extensive use of favorite numbers, colors, and animals. These are all in turn related to the major points of direction. At Taos, for instance, the favorite number is four, easily identified with North, East, South, and West. Any important gesture will be repeated four times, often with a ritual *feint* for the first three counts.[9] Prayer-sticks are tied up in bundles of four; the dancing Kachinas strike their initiates four times with the yucca; songs are sung in stanzas of four; tabus after death are for four days; a man is really reckoned dead (i.e. socially) only when four days have passed after physical death. In some of the towns six hap-

[7] The Winnebago indeed make popular approval a necessary ethical attribute. Cf. Radin, Crashing Thunder, The Autobiography of an American Indian, Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1926, p. 65, "Be on friendly terms with everyone and then everyone will like you."

[8] Instead of entire lack of individualism among the Zunis, it might put the emphasis more correctly to say, as does Paul Radin, that every man could or was indeed forced to have a public career. Cf. his Primitive Religion, The Viking Press, N. Y., 1937, pp. 234–239.

[9] Thus if a dancer is to pass a sacred stick to another participant, he may withdraw it three times and actually hand it over only on the fourth gesture. Cf. Parsons, op. cit., pp. 369, 774.

pens to be the favorite number. There must be some reason for such things, and of course there is one given. The four major directions are augmented by Zenith and Nadir. If five is the number, it is reckoned from the four points of the compass plus a composite direction, Zenith, Nadir and Middle all being lumped together. That one number rather than another is preferred is of no significance for us. What matters is that there shall be some one number, no matter which, unconsciously accepted as *the number which works.* The explanations which associate the numbers with combinations of directions are simply part of a human affectation of logical neatness. This is not an indulgence of primitive persons only.[10] The Pueblo Indians, having once accepted a numeral and a plausible-sounding reason for that acceptance (which is of course not self-conscious but traditional) can then work wonders therewith. Each of the six directions will be associated with a color and an animal. I cite the Zuni pattern of relationships:

North	Yellow	Mountain Lion
West	Blue	Bear
South	Red	Badger
East	White	Eagle
Zenith	"All colors"	Eagle
Nadir	Black	Mole

This sort of elaboration is the kind of thing which sometimes bewilders anthropologists no less than tourists. But to the primitive mind it is the most natural thing in the world and in the case of the Pueblos it is an important part of their religious orientation. Its psychological importance springs largely from the necessity of learning exactly an extensive myth-ritual pattern.[11] The reason for learning the pattern is that in this way

[10] Wm. James, in his essay on 'The Sentiment of Rationality,' says "Philosophers . . . try to attain a conception of things which shall on the whole be more rational than the rather fragmentary and chaotic one which everyone *by gift of nature carries about with him under his hat.*" He recognizes the rationality of his ideas by "certain subjective marks by which it affects him. When he gets the marks he may know that he has got the rationality." Some of these "marks of rationality" are: a strong feeling of ease, peace, and rest, and a lively relief and pleasure.

[11] The question of the extent of participation in the ceremonial life is difficult to answer from the scanty literature on the subject. The only adequate treatments of the problem which I have seen concern the neighboring Navaho rather than the

you become somebody, a *valuable* person, as the Pueblos themselves will have it.[12]

Among other primitive peoples the pattern of distinction may be different. Thomas cites among such patterns the performance of some perilous deed, especially in warfare; the taking of scalps; caste-position; the pot-latch.[13] Thus variously do people rise above the dead level of society. Special eminence is given to superior individuals who rise particularly high in one of the possible fields of distinction. In our own culture professional life, technical skill, and possession of wealth are perhaps the most obvious areas wherein a person may attain a degree of special standing. But the superior scalp-taker would be unhappily out of place in Cambridge, while elsewhere he might enjoy high reputation. Our prisons and mental hospitals are crowded, I daresay, with potential geniuses if only they would move to less congested parts of the world. Say the Dyaks of Borneo, "The white men read books; we hunt for heads instead." [14]

This digression on the advantages of head-taking as over against book-reading is in point if it serves to throw into the proper perspective the Pueblo elaboration of the ceremonial life. It is what matters most of all to a fair number of citizens, the intensely religious people as well also as the occasionally religious and perhaps even the indifferently religious of such towns as Hopi, Zuni, and Acoma. It is to them what our baptisms, church-memberships, academic degrees, Mayflower ancestries, and social registers are to us, or at least to some

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Pueblo group. They are by Professor Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Participation in Ceremonials in a Navaho Community,' American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1938, and an extension of the same subject in the Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, 1939, 'Some Personal and Social Aspects of Navaho Ceremonial Practice.'

[12] A Chinese student has given a good corrective for the eloquence of Benedict and Bunzel on the subject of non-ambition and the submersion of the individual among the Zuni. The problem of being ambitious in a face-to-face society is different from what it is with us. We may inflate our personal claims of ability and knowledge because we can remain happily unknown even to residents on our own street. There is a pattern of distinction among the Pueblos, but it is their pattern and not ours. If you are going to be one of them, you just have to do things in their way. Cf. Li-An-Che, 'Zuni — Some Observations and Queries,' Amer. Anthr., Vol. 39, 1937, pp. 62–76.

[13] W. I. Thomas, Primitive Behavior, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1937. To this useful book I owe the phrase "pattern of distinction," pp. 358–416.

[14] Ibid., p. 377.

friends of ours! The Pueblo Indian distinguishes himself by becoming expert in the traditional ways of his people. By losing his life he truly finds it, no less surely than others in a different culture. Emily Dickinson must have had the Pueblos in mind when she wrote:

> I'm nobody! Who are you?
> Are you nobody, too?
> Then there's a pair of us — don't tell!
> They'd banish us, you know.
>
> How dreary to be somebody!
> How public, like a frog
> To tell your name the livelong day
> To an admiring bog!

Between individual Indians in the Pueblos there is on the surface relatively little of tension and competition. The same apparent absence of tragic intensity shows itself in the relation of the Pueblo Indians as a whole to the world outside of themselves which is usually called supernatural. Their religion consists of the collective facing of a multiple manifestation of forces external to themselves — powerful and unpredictable forces which are of tremendous importance to the life of the tribe and the individual. It does not concern itself very much with speculative questions about the world, but with the pressing problems of daily life, as, for instance, the securing of food, maintaining a healthy birth-rate, preserving the social context (which, in addition to its economic function, saves an individual from his natural weakness and instabilities and "moral holidays") and the warding-off of disease. The religion of a primitive people is, on this reading, a myth-ritual complex which is in fact a matter of life and death — not the condescending maintenance of dead customs and habits, — but that indispensable set of things believed, said, and done according to customary rules accepted as valid. It is a pattern of behavior, if you will, for the maintenance of a status and the attainment of definite ends conceived to be of vital importance to the life both of individuals and groups.

II

Pueblo religion finds expression in terms of the perennial and imperative need of rainfall. Almost every ceremony and prayer has some reference to the securing of rain. And naturally so, since this is the greatest necessity for the life of an agricultural people in a dry country. It may be the making and planting of prayer-sticks in sacred springs or the ceremonial dancing of the Kachinas [15] or the beating-up of yucca suds which, by having the appearance of clouds, are thought to cause clouds to form in the sky. Like causes like. "The Coyote planting-time has come," writes Crow-Wing in his diary for June 6, 1920, "so Chakwen . . . is going to have his working party. The man has to take his sack of corn, and the women pour water on him and then he pours water on every woman who is there. Then he will go. When he gets there, he puts his prayer-sticks in the middle of the field, and then he may start to plant. And the men will come to help. They have to take off their shoes to work, even if it is a hot day, and so in this way they make the clouds come out. When the clouds know the men are barefoot, they say, 'Let's make rain to cool their feet.'" [16]

In the case of the Pueblos the language and spirit of rain-making have absorbed many of the other major concerns of a primitive religion. Crop-fertility, relations with enemy tribes,[17] and relations with the dead are associated with it. The curing of illness seems not to have been so much affected. But despite this dominance of the language of rain-making we are not to believe that the individual Pueblo is altogether obsessed by an excessive personal anxiety about the weather. The Indian is not so rain-conscious that he suffers nervous breakdown and hypochondria on its account.[18] He has no rain-complex. He

[15] Cf. Kennard & Earle, Hopi Kachinas, J. J. Augustin, Publ., N. Y., 1935, for beautiful colored drawings of the Kachinas.

[16] Crow-Wing, A Pueblo Indian Journal, p. 91, 1920–21 (Edit. by E. C. Parsons), Memoirs of Amer. Anthr. Assoc., No. 32, 1935.

[17] The Zuni have a scalp ceremony which converts even the enemy dead into rain-makers. Cf. Parsons, op. cit., p. 171. Another trace of the ritual disposition of the enemy is in the breaking of baskets and pottery as they sing, "In this way burn the Navaho camp." Cf. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 97.

[18] Professor Kluckhohn was in general agreement with this line of thought, but he

talks much about rain (as others may talk about liberty and democracy) but very rarely does he speak of rain-making as a definite task to be performed at a specific time. Rain is of course the greatest of the necessities for living in the almost desert-like mesas of the Southwest. But it is only one of them. And while the Pueblo explains himself ritualistically in such language, it is not to be thought that provision is not made for the other necessities of life. The area of the unpredictable includes much besides the coming and going of rain. But the situation seems to be that since you cannot put an emphasis upon all the areas of unpredictability, the most urgent and dramatic one becomes dominant and all the others are interpreted in its terms. The Navaho refer to most items of religious concern in terms of the curing of disease. But notice that *disease* is broadly interpreted. It means not only actual sickness, but also bad luck, economic mishap, witchcraft, and ritual impurity. Interestingly enough, the Navaho have borrowed much of the neighboring Pueblo ritual for rain-making and they use it for curing disease. The number of major human necessities is not large and the one most real and present in a given environment easily comes to represent the undefined totality which we signify by our abstract terms as the unknown, the beyond, the supernatural. It is not that at a given time a tribe of primitives takes a vote to see which of the difficult areas will henceforth be used by common assent to designate all the rest. We may postulate racial tradition, environmental snags, the influence of neighboring folk-ways, and the simple force of an aggregate of happy coincidences as some of the determining factors. The groups we call primitive all have long histories of development behind them. Each may have found itself hardest pressed and most liable to extinction because of certain variable factors in the issues of food supply, social cohesion, or relations to surrounding groups. Whichever of these factors of

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also reminded me how intensely angry the Zuni were very recently on one occasion when they were returning in procession from a rare ceremony which an unusually long dry spell had made necessary for the first time in twenty years. A thoughtless person interrupted the procession by driving right across its path in his automobile. The hot indignation of the Indians showed how seriously they considered the business of rain-making.

instability happens to be most pressing and whichever most easily lends itself to imaginative elaboration in the hands of a small group of religious leaders over a long period of time is the one most likely to become the hard kernel at the centre of a given tribe's religion. With this they may move widely among other peoples and religions, both influencing and being themselves influenced by other cultures.

The Pueblo has inevitably to concentrate upon weather-control, and specifically rain-making, as the part which for him represents the whole of this area of unpredictability. It constitutes the Pueblo *definition of the situation*;[19] unless this much is admitted, we cannot understand much of the detail of Pueblo religion, to some of which we now turn our attention.

III

The soul is not a very distinct entity.[20] For the most part it is associated with the head, the heart, and especially the breath. The name often used seems to mean "breath-body," which expression is adequately vague. The breath constitutes a common means for the communication of spiritual substance and power. Inhaling and exhaling over sacred objects is a solemn ritual act.[21] A novice who is learning parts of the ritual from an elder will blow the prayers back to his teacher at the end of each lesson until the time arrives when he may possess them in his own duly-won right.

The whole world is more or less animate in the sense of being alive and of much the same order as man himself. The major distinction between the rest of the objects in the world and Zuni man is that they are *raw* while he is *cooked*. But animals and inanimate things frequently seem to be treated as if they had feelings not altogether different from human sensitivities. As we shall see below, animals and birds are hunted according to ritual patterns of politeness and in some instances their dead bodies are as elaborately handled as those of human beings.

[19] To use the phrase of Thomas, Primitive Behavior, pp. 8 ff.

[20] My major sources in this section are Parsons, op. cit., and Bunzel, 'Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism,' Bureau of Amer. Ethn., Ann. Report No. 47, 1929.

[21] Parsons, op. cit., pp. 419–423.

Zuni cosmology is very fragmentary. The earth is circular, and is surrounded on all sides with water, — a kind of floating island. The supporting ocean is connected by underground channels with the lakes and streams in the Pueblo territory, which thus become something more than mere collecting-places of surface water. Much of the ritual is performed on the shores of lakes and rivers. The Rainmakers live on the edge of the encircling stream. There are four underground caverns. It was in the lowest of these caverns that the first men lived before they moved up to the present world. One of the reasons for their coming up is this. The Sun used to go through the sky day after day. But nobody was on the earth to greet him. In time the Sun became very lonesome because there was nobody to say "Good morning, Mr. Sun." So he sent a flash of lightning to split the earth's crust and dispatched a couple of solar assistants to bring up from the lowest depths some of the strange people who lived there in the dark underworld. Thus there would be somebody around each morning to greet the rising sun. There are many variations in the stories of the beginnings of the human residence on earth, but all of them tell of an ascent from below and a wandering of the peoples before they finally settled in their present territory. The "sipapu" or place of exit from the lower world is significant in Pueblo religion and in many Kivas there is an opening in the floor through which offerings are made to the spirits of that region. When man first came up, the earth was soft, but in time it hardened. Things have remained pretty much unchanged since then. Most Pueblo customs are referred back to this time, and many of the folk-tales begin, "Long ago, when the earth was soft."

The basic technique in the Pueblo control of the supernatural world is a request for help, reinforced by a complex of actions which are automatically effective.[22] Almost all of the usual primitive magico-religious techniques are to be found among these people. Mimetic magic plays a large part in dealing with the spirit world. "Identifying a spirit with yourself, your relatives, or your ceremonial group is another common control. The most conspicuous instance is the adoption of the

[22] Cf. Bunzel, op. cit., p. 489.

scalp. . . . The practice of applying kinship terms in general to spirits or to any *raw* people is a means of getting close to them, an anti-fear mechanism that is far from being confined to the Pueblos." [23]

In general it may be said that among these Indians mimetic ritual and sympathetic magic (working indirectly, so to speak) are more conspicuous than the direct transmission of spirit-powers in a shaman or shamanistic group. The *law of exactness* is particularly in force here; the major stress is not so much upon the personality of the ritualist as upon the precision of the mechanistic techniques. Spontaneity is not prized in things religious. Extemporaneous appeals and prayers are almost unknown.

Sacred fetishes constitute the most important cult-objects. These may be dancing-masks, the sacred ear of corn, or other ritual paraphernalia. They are usually kept in private homes, often in a special chamber which cannot be entered except by the proper person at the proper time. Most of the fetishes are *fed* daily (by being sprinkled with a little corn-meal). The possession of one of these fetishes distinguishes a person, rendering him *valuable* according to the sanctity of the object. There is naturally a wide variation in the degree of reverence shown the numerous fetishes. In general they are thought to have been brought from the underworld at the time of man's coming up. If a fetish were neglected, it would naturally bring its keeper serious harm.

It is not possible for us here to enter into a description of the infinitely complicated ritual pattern of the Pueblo religion. Over and above the elaborate pattern of seasonal dancing which characterizes the ceremonial life, and often in connection with it, there is a complex of religious activities which generally may be classed under the heading of compulsive magic. Thus the rolling of stones to cause thunder, the sprinkling of water on the ground to bring rain, the ceremonial blowing of smoke to the directions, the presentation of Kachina dolls to expectant mothers to ensure a safe delivery, are classed as religious rites since their effectiveness depends upon their being performed in

[23] Parsons, op. cit., p. 208.

a defined situation, properly carried out to the letter by special persons at stated times and places. Pueblo sorcery consists primarily in the use of these familiar techniques outside of their legitimate settings. Much Zuni ritual is of a highly formalistic type which would be perfectly meaningless, insofar as words and actions are concerned, were it not for the increment of contingency introduced by the demand of ritual exactness. Thus the beating-up of yucca suds and the washing of the hair are common ritual acts. But it is absolutely necessary to remember that soap-suds do not cause rain whenever they are used about the home, ordinary hair-washing merely cleans one's scalp, and the casual smoking of a cigarette normally has no bearing upon rain-clouds.

Pueblo religion involves a considerable portion not only of time and attention but also of actual possessions. Offerings are very frequent, consisting mostly of food, tobacco, prayer-meal, or prayer-sticks. All priests and their families are under special obligations in these matters. Sometimes offerings are consumed in a fire; frequently they are floated on the river. Corn-meal, without which no ceremonial is complete, is scattered, sprinkled, or used in the characteristically Pueblo habit of *road-making* (i.e. the setting the boundaries of certain acts, or the facilitation of the passage of the spirits to the area of concern). The most valuable gift to the gods is the beautiful prayer-stick, carefully selected, smoothed, and painted, with the proper feathers attached by cotton cord. These are used in great quantities and are buried or deposited in corn-fields, floated on the river, laid upon mountain-shrines, or sunk in sacred springs. They serve many functions, but especially do they serve as clothing for the spirits. When tied to the hair of a corpse before burial they seem to be considered a kind of letter of recommendation or passport to the land of the supernaturals. The act of offering prayer-sticks is very significant, requiring sexual continence for the following four days. Only men may make prayer-sticks, and usually they offer them. On the other hand women always prepare the sacred corn-meal and other food-offerings.

Periodic tabu and abstinence are regular features of Pueblo

religion. Participants in ceremonials go into ritual retreat in the Kivas four days before the important seasonal celebrations. Certain foods are prohibited for a given time after the beginning of the winter solstice. All sacred objects are tabu to those who do not, so to speak, belong to them. The storage place for sacred masks and other fetishes is dangerous to those "on the outside." All shrines are violated if approached otherwise than officially. Sometimes during a ceremony the participants are forbidden to speak for twenty-four hours.

IV

Since we cannot here do justice to a complicated religion which an expert like Dr. Parsons requires two thick volumes to describe, I propose that we turn our attention now to a case-study, as it were, of one aspect of Pueblo religion in order to see the details of one major religious topic. Ideas of the soul and after-life constitute a typically religious issue and are here developed in a way peculiar to Pueblo religion as a whole. We shall consider, then, some of these ideas as they are worked out particularly in the religious pattern of the Hopi and Zuni Indians.

At Hopi, as elsewhere, when a person dies, he exposes those about him to natural emotions of fear and sorrow which, if allowed to continue and generalize, would break down the morale of his tribe. Here are some suggestions of how this crisis is met.[24]

An adult who is dying at Hopi is usually left alone or perhaps in the company of his father or mother or some older relative. A terror-stricken husband or wife will flee from the death room. When death occurs, those present cry and mourn, but there is no excessive wailing. You no longer refer to the dead person by name. That is too intimate a part of a person. There is too much in a name for it to be uttered in the dangerous time of

[24] In the study of funeral ritual we should especially consider the way in which it serves to canalize instinctive emotions without reducing their intensity, but always trying to direct them beyond the moment of tragic despair to something like a reinforcement of the will to live. Cf. Malinowski, 'Magic, Science, and Religion' in Science, Religion, and Reality, ed. J. Needham, Macmillan, N. Y., 1925, p. 51.

death.[25] Like ourselves the Hopi does not use the word "die" of the recently deceased. "He has gone" or "He has gone to sleep" are better. The body is immediately prepared for burial in the day or night of death. Prayer-feathers are tied to locks of the hair; food and water are sometimes placed upon the chest of the corpse; and a piece of fine white cotton cloth or cotton batting is laid over the face with slits for the eyes and nose. The corpse is then wrapped in several blankets and carried to the place of burial. All of this may take place within six to twelve hours after death. On the edge of the mesa the funeral bundle is buried. Stones are placed over the body of an adult. Premature and unweaned children usually are buried beneath the floor of the parents' home. In the case of other children the wrapped body is dropped into a rock fissure in the cliffs. A stick is put into the crevice, projecting about two feet from the top. This, they tell you, is a ladder by which the soul mounts to the land of the spirits. One may recall the frequent use of ladders for entrance into the Kivas and also for climbing from one terrace of the unit-houses to another.

It should be observed that the place of burial is not marked in any way with tomb-stones or epitaphs to distinguish the grave of a particular individual. You live and you die here as a member of society. Nor are the graves enclosed or cared for at all. On the third day after burial, offerings of meal and prayer-sticks are made and food is placed in a bowl at the grave. Meal is scattered to form a "road" toward the west, by which the soul may travel to "Skeleton House." In the case of children (who are thought to be reincarnated) the meal road is made towards his parents' home so that the spirit may return to be born again in the mother's next offspring. Perhaps the sceptic is thinking to have found a flaw in the Hopi's effort at consistency of belief. But if he uncouthly asks, "Yes, but what happens if no more children are born to that family?" the Hopi, unembarrassed, will give a ready answer, "When the

[25] When you utter a dead man's name, you call up a mental image of him. He is then in a sense still present, but in a peculiarly intractable and disconcerting way. This tenuous presence of the dead man is precisely what funeral ritual is intended to overcome. It all means, "He is not here." Hence the tabu after death on the man's name.

mother herself dies, she carries that child's spirit to her new home in the West."

At Isleta a priest, known as the Black Corn Mother, is called immediately after death takes place. He prepares the corpse for burial. The relatives of the deceased are admitted for a while. When they leave, the Corn Priest and his helpers "feed" the dead man ceremonially (using the left hand). An altar is set up in the room and the priest prepares a smudge with some of the hair cut from the corpse. The relatives return and inhale some of this smoke. This is to help them forget the dead man. We will have it, of course, that it is a form of exorcism to overcome thoughts of a dead person, for such thoughts are very dangerous. Here the burial is upon the following day and for four days the relatives are ceremonially tabu. They remain in the house of the deceased and are washed by the priest. On the fourth day the group goes outside the village to bury food for the late kinsman. The funeral utensils (watering-pot, dishes, hair-brush, etc.) are buried along with a few possessions and the moccasins of the dead man. As they return to the Pueblo, the party, using primitive flint knives, will cut deep lines across their path. This is an obstacle to the return of the dead. Elsewhere black corn-meal is scattered to darken the road back. In the death-room once more, the people are addressed by the Corn Priest who tells them, among other things, that this is the last time they need be afraid of the dead man's returning. They should now forget him, for "it is now four *years* since he is dead." [26]

At Zuni the burial attendants take an emetic to rid themselves of whatever dangerous infections their work may have exposed them to. Burial operations involve so much risk indeed that a Hopi Indian who buries his own father's corpse receives a double share in the inheritance. The household of a deceased Zuni neither buys nor sells any goods for four days after a death. There is a general opening up for the easier exit of the spirit. Every piece of clothing on the corpse is slit; the cotton on its face has holes cut in it; funeral tools which have not been buried are exposed on the roof to the sunlight; and for

[26] Parsons, op. cit., p. 73.

four days the door of the dead man's house is left ajar. At San Juan after a funeral meal on the fourth day, a bowl of cooked meal is taken out to a field by kinsmen and the dead person is addressed, "Here is food for you. Do not be mean to people here. Do not come around. If you do come, do not let us hear you." [27]

We must be cautious in trying to prove anything by references to funeral customs. They may not be consistent with the consciously accepted beliefs of any community. They are dramatic gestures, and are therefore liable to considerable play of the imagination. And no less a student than Kroeber [28] reminds us how much funeral customs seem to be influenced by mere vagaries of style. Whereas it has often been thought that burial customs were the least likely to be affected by outside influences, he has shown how extensive the variations may be.

But in general we can say of the Pueblo customs that, despite great variation in the details of ritual and exorcism, the significant point is that the dead, who are more or less potentially dangerous (since death itself is a kind of contagious disease), are now well separated from the living. The dead man has gone somewhere and under the right conditions he will not be likely to come back. To dispose of his body properly, so that you are well rid of this positive quality of contagion — this is what we take to be the psychological significance of Pueblo burial customs.

But the dead are a mighty company. Numerically they are an overwhelming majority. And you just cannot keep from wondering about them, however well buried they may be. There are persisting and haunting thoughts about the great cloud of witnesses. To these we must now turn if our record is to have even a vestige of relevance.

Primitive man thinks of the whole of life as a kind of house with many rooms. To pass from one room to another involves certain risks and difficulties. With such transitions as from pre-

[27] Parsons, op. cit., p. 74.

[28] Kroeber, 'Disposal of the Dead,' Amer. Anthr., Vol. 29 (1927). Cf. also Nock's article, 'Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire,' Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XXV, No. 4, 1932, pp. 357 ff.

existence into existence in this section of life, from childhood to social maturity, marriage, and death, certain rites are necessary. These are the "rites de passage" (without which phrase it is scarcely possible to discuss our subject).[29] This is not the place to explain Van Gennep's analysis of such rites, save to note that he distinguishes three natural divisions: i. rites de séparation; ii. rites de marge; iii. rites d'agrégation. We have already noticed that certain of these rites are not so conspicuous in the Pueblo culture as elsewhere.

Among the Acoma Pueblos a new-born baby is not altogether born in the social sense until after certain ceremonies performed by the Medicine Man on the fourth day after physical birth. The infant is offered to the sun. The priest then gathers air into his arms from the four directions and blows it toward the baby, speaking the child's name. Prayer-sticks are planted, and the child is returned to its parents' home and presented by the Medicine Man to the father and mother almost as if it were the first time they had seen the child. After this period of orientation and acclimatization, so to speak, the child is an accepted member of society, albeit still in a limited sense.[30] A rather similar situation prevails at the time of death. For four days after he expires a man is surely not like the rest of the living. Yet he is not quite dead. Physical and social death do not coincide. The passage of space to some other region seems naturally to require a corresponding passage of time. And is death anything more than the going away into another place, or at least into another room of the same house?

The geography of the land of the dead is rather confused in the mind of the Pueblo Indian. It is a matter of no little confusion for more advanced people. It is not primitive groups only which are troubled by the "obscure destiny of a vanished soul." There is something terribly *present* about a person's corpse. When you bury a child's body you may have to push aside a few other corpses to make room in the crevice of the

[29] Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage, Paris, 1909, p. 14. For the idea of life as a house with many rooms cf. Tozzer, Social Origins and Social Continuities, Macmillan, N. Y., 1925, p. 88.

[30] Cf. L. White, 'The Acoma Indians,' Ann. Rep. of the Bur. of Amer. Ethn., No. 47, 1929–1930, pp. 132 ff.

rocks for the new funeral bundle. It cannot be that part of a person which travels away. It is rather the breath-body (tse'makwin) which departs. This is a spiritual substance in a rather real and objective and concrete sense. You provide food and clothing for it. This is the significance of the food-offerings and the prayer-feather tied to the hair and the cotton placed on the face of the corpse. Such *clothing* is light and hastens the prompt departure of the soul. It has, moreover, the added advantage of resembling the banks of fluffy cumulus clouds. This little bit of associative magic rather helps to reinforce the reassuring belief that the dead are in the clouds whence comes the rain. The Zuni mother, when the clouds begin to gather before a rainstorm, will often say to her children, "The grandmothers are coming."

And if you treat these cloud-dwelling ancestors in the right way by providing food in the form of meal-offerings and clothing in the form of beautifully feathered prayer-sticks, they will be more likely to send rain when it is needed. As a matter of fact they will be compelled to do so. There is nothing arbitrary here. A primitive mind knows how to force the hand of the spirit-world. "We *have* to help you," say the dead, "because you never forget us. Because you always take feathers out for us, we help you." [31]

Since the dead are identified with the cloud-spirits, we naturally expect that they live where there is much water. They are variously located under lakes and springs or on the shores of the ocean which surrounds the world. The Hopi seem to be the only ones who believe in anything like purgatory or post-mortem retribution.[32]

It must have been observed that the dead are a collective group. Beyond the grave there are no individuals. Thus the

[31] Parsons, op. cit., p. 207.

[32] Ibid., p. 216. The retribution motif is in general alien. It should not be confused with a caste-idea connected with the dead (in societies where social distinctions are strong among the living). With the Pueblos there is very little social differentiation although some are more *valuable* than others. Elsewhere, e.g. among certain Mexican tribes, the manner of death influences the position one will enjoy in the next world. Those who die in childbirth and those killed by lightning or by drowning go to the choicest places. Cf. Tozzer, Social Origins, p. 123.

Pueblo tendency to socialize and consolidate, apparent all through their life, is carried a little farther in death. It is only the recent dead, the *Koyemçi* (Zuni), who are really dangerous. But when they are finally assimilated into the society of the ancestors, they become beneficent. Any recalling of the dead as individuals is risky business. Therefore the Pueblo who thinks or day-dreams too much about a dead person will take an emetic or submit to fumigation by inhaling piñon-gum smoke. Even dreams about a dead individual will cause sickness, since dream-objects, while they are distinguished as such, are nevertheless as real as waking objects.[33]

We have here what seems like a serious conflict in the Pueblo conception of his relation to his dead. There is an attitude of reverence toward the ancestors as a whole. Throughout the Zuni ritual texts they are beautifully referred to as "the keepers of our roads" or "those who have attained the blessed place of waters." At the same time there is a great fear of the recent dead who still appear in dreams or in moments of sorrow and grief as individuals. But in no case are the dead thought of as malevolent. If you dream of them, it means that the dead are still remembering their human life and are longing for their companions in this world. In visions and dreams they are trying to return to earth. This much we may put down as Pueblo interpretation. But the reality which gives point to such an interpretation seems to be this — that to the Pueblo mind the dead are infected with a kind of contagious disease. And if they return in any way, whether in thoughts or dreams, then that disease may lay low others who are now living. The solidarity and continuity of the tribe are thus badly threatened. Hence, have nothing to do with the dead in any immediate way, lest you also sicken and die! It is to cut off the recent dead that the Zuni, returning from a burial, sprinkle the black cornmeal and scratch deep lines upon the path to darken and ob-

[33] At Havasupai (not Pueblo) there is an interesting rite to be performed when one dreams of the dead. On awaking a man will say, "It is bad to dream of the dead, so go away." Then he breathes into his hands and brushes them down over his face and body. "So I brush the dream away into the night." Parsons, op. cit., p. 423, quoted from Spier, 'Havasupai Ethnology,' Anthr. Papers of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., Vol. XIX, Part iii, pp. 285, 334.

struct the way back for the dead man's soul. And yet the generalized *dead* and the ancestors are the greatest boons in life. This double attitude of fear and reverence must not be lightly dismissed. To travel far from Zuni, we recall that it is some such radical interplay of confidence and reluctance that Saint Augustine felt, now daunting, now fascinating — "What is that which gleams through me and smites my heart without wounding it? I am both a-shudder and a-glow. A-shudder insofar as I am unlike it, a-glow insofar as I am like it." [34]

In our cultural complex it is possible to take academic courses on Primitive Religion and Ideas of the Soul and After Life. If the Pueblos had a college, they could not offer such courses. The concept of variation is not an element of the primitive mind.[35] The Pueblo Indian, for instance, does not talk much with anybody about death, least of all with critical folk who would on general principle disagree with his views. His attitude seems to be one of "All persons are more or less alike, and particularly are they like us." Dr. Bunzel [36] records a pathetic instance of a Zuni informant of hers who honestly felt that by telling her about one of his dreams he had brought a fatal illness upon himself. "Yes," he said, just before his death, "now I must die. I have given you all of my religion, and I have no way to protect myself."

When death comes to a person the Pueblo Indian knows that a terribly drastic change takes place in his life, so to speak. But to suppose that the person ceases to exist is almost too great an abstraction for the primitive mind no less than for the "civilized" mind, if such there be! The dead man goes on living somewhere else. The question of the eternity of his existence seems not to be asked.[37] A person's soul may not die but this is

[34] Quoted in a relevant chapter by W. L. Sperry, Reality in Worship, Macmillan, N. Y., 1925, p. 137.

[35] Cf. Parsons, op. cit., p. 941, for interesting personal notes on this "characteristic assumption of homogeneity or lack of any conception of heterogeneity."

[36] Bunzel, Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism, p. 494. The Zuni sometimes discount the religion of the missionaries who constantly preach in the Plaza. They cannot think much of Jesus, they say, because they talk so much about him.

[37] Cf. Boas, 'The Idea of the Future Life Among Primitive Tribes' in Race, Language, and Culture, N. Y., 1940, pp. 596–607.

not to say that he lives forever. He lives beyond the grave in just about the same manner as on this side. Hence his Kachina-mask and some of his tools and clothing are buried with him. The styles of the day must also prevail in the other world, if we may judge from the things deposited with recent burials which have been rudely excavated. The irreverent anthropologist uncovered a wooden duck, a celluloid comb, and colored glass beads of commercial manufacture, all of which were buried with a child's body. In another instance there was a funeral bundle containing a white cloth elephant,[38] an empty Post Toasties box, a punctured milk can, and a pair of baby's rubber pants. These would scarcely be necessary for pure cloud-spirits. As to where the dead reside, the Pueblos are not more confused than many others. Furthermore, the human being is not alone in his extension of living. Almost everything else is of pretty much the same stuff as man. All of life is continuous. Everything is animate, perhaps vaguely and rather impersonally. Man is cooked,[39] everything else is raw, but otherwise they are parts of a harmonious whole. When the Pueblo kills a deer or an eagle, almost as much attention is shown to the dead animal as to a dead human being. The deer is covered with a ceremonial blanket with his head pointing to the east, the precious corn-fetish is placed between his fore-legs, and he is sprinkled with corn-meal and ceremonially smoked. The Hopi kill their eagles only in a prescribed manner by choking them to death; the body is flayed after the ceremonial feathers have been plucked; prayer-feathers are tied to the carcass, which is then carried to a special burying-ground for eagles.[40] Man is not altogether "lord of the universe." He has his life to live and other things have their lives to live. The Pueblo Indian's concern for the dead does not take him far in speculation about their condition. He is more interested in knowing what they may do for him or to him. It is little wonder then that his last word is that

[38] It is probably not necessary to postulate commercial relations with Africa or India!

[39] This bifurcation is dramatized at birth in some instances where the actual delivery of a child takes place on a bed of heated sand (Zuni, Acoma, Sia). Parsons, p. 46.

[40] Cf. Voth, 'Notes on the Eagle Cult of the Hopi,' Field Mus. of Nat. Hist., Anthr. Series, Vol. XI, 1912.

his ancestors continue in death to do that which every good Pueblo tries to do in life — namely, to keep a healthy supply of rain falling upon the crops, for this alone insures the continuance of life. Whatever he says of the soul and its life after death, the reference is always to life on this side of the grave. Pueblo death beliefs make for the acceptance and neutralization of an instinctive fear which rises at the time of death. When the beliefs are well accepted and integrated, as they seem here to be, the fear itself tends not to appear and the calmer acceptance of an otherwise dangerous crisis becomes the customary pattern of behavior.

Hopi folklore tells of some people who wonder about the dead and are given the power to visit the underworld and to return to earth. Here is the message they are told to bring back to their curious friends, "Go back and tell them in the village that we are living here, and here we live in the dark. And tell them that no one should wish to come here. For some it is not yet at all time to come; but if their hearts are not good, and they are angry, they will come here sooner. So tell them no one should wish to travel this way. . . . Now you must not think about that any more. You must go home and live there strong." [41] This sounds strangely wise, like the superb sentence in the preface to the Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, "One-fourth of life is intelligible, the other three-fourths is unintelligible darkness; and our earliest duty is to cultivate the habit of not looking around the corner."

[41] Voth, op. cit., pp. 109–119.

DESIRED HAVEN

CAMPBELL BONNER
University of Michigan

A seafaring people gifted with a lively imagination will not fail to enrich its language with figures suggested by the moods of the sea and by the hardships and dangers of the sailor's calling. Hence it is a commonplace to say that the literature of Greece abounds in brilliant and memorable similes and metaphors drawn from this inexhaustible source, as also in well-worn expressions whose marine origin is only dimly felt.[1] Because of a religious coloring that it gradually acquired, one of these figures may be appropriately discussed here; the more so because as we examine its history, it may be possible to correct a certain tendency to derive this religious tone from proximate rather than ultimate sources.

The harbor is the goal at which the mariner aims and the end of his effort. If his voyage has been perilous, the harbor is his refuge from danger, and gives him surcease of hardship. The landsman also may put himself, in fancy, in the sailor's place, and view his own life as a voyage full of vicissitudes and dangers.[2] According to the character of his experience the harbor

[1] Marine metaphors and similes have attracted the attention of so many commentators that to assemble a large number of them in a special article may seem an idle task; but if this paper is taken for what it is, a by-product of general reading and of searching for other things, it will perhaps be judged more leniently. The slight deposit of conclusions that may interest the less patient reader will be found in the concluding paragraphs.

My collections have been substantially increased by references contributed by A. D. Nock, who noted the religious significance of λιμὴν σωτηρίας several years ago (Journ. Egypt. Arch. XI, 129, n. 5). Other examples that might have escaped my attention were found in the following books or articles: Suicerus, Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, s.v. λιμήν; F. J. Dölger, Sol Salutis, 272–286; J. Kahlmeyer, Seesturm und Schiffsbruch als Bild im antiken Schrifttum (Hildesheim, 1934, a Greifswald dissertation), 34–36; W. Vollgraff, in a discussion of the Delphic paean, Bull. de corr. hellén., XLVIII, 178–186. — Many more illustrations could be found, and I have omitted several from my own and other collections as of slight interest.

[2] Plato, Legg. 803b, διὰ τοῦ πλοῦ τούτου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. Marc. Aurel. 3. 3. 6, τί ταῦτα; ἐνέβης, ἔπλευσας, κατήχθης· ἔκβηθι, κτλ. It is in harmony with the city-centered thought of the Hellenic age that the figure is applied more frequently and in greater detail to the ship of state than to the individual's voyage of life; many examples are collected in Kahlmeyer (cited in n. 1 above), 39–47. There is nothing to suggest that the Pythag-

may suggest to him the accomplishment of his endeavors, with rest as their reward, or escape from vexations or from persecutions or crushing disasters. He may also see it simply as the end of the journey, where, whether hopeful or hopeless, he knows that wandering and striving are at an end. Poets and other imaginative writers apply the figure boldly. A storm comes to be a symbol of adversity, billows represent the shocks of misfortune, the tossing of the sea (*σάλος*, *σαλεύω*) agitation or perplexity, even bilge water, which must be bailed out (*ἄντλος*, *ἐξαντλεῖν*) stands for hardships of all sorts. Similarly harbor (*λιμήν*, *ὅρμος*) may stand for places, persons, conditions that bring to the mind such feelings as the thought of the haven brings to the mariner.

This broader application of the comparison begins early and continues into the latest period. Before illustrating it, we may observe that the physical meaning of *λιμήν* is sometimes extended to signify not harbor in a strict sense, but a place that receives, a gathering-place or resting-place. Thus *πλούτου λιμήν* is a hoard or treasure (Aesch. Pers. 250, Eur. Or. 1077), *παντὸς οἰωνοῦ λιμήν* a haunt of birds (Soph. Ant. 1000). *ὅρμος* seems to mean a common dwelling-place in the fourth hymn of Isidorus, line 6 (Vogliano, Scavi di Medinet Madi, I, p. 38: Suppl. cf. Vol. 8, 551; Preisigke-Bilabel, Sammelbuch 8141); the writer is speaking of a temple devoted to several gods. Bion the Cynic, according to Diogenes Laertius (4. 48) called old age *ὅρμος τῶν κακῶν*, because all troubles found a refuge in it.[3]

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orean notion of the cosmic ship (*ὁλκάς*, cf. Philolaos fr. 12) had any influence upon the use of the nautical figure in relation either to the state or to the individual, though it seems to have left its mark elsewhere; see A. B. Cook's Zeus, III, 18, n. 3. To his references add Philo, Quis rerum div. heres 301: *πηδαλιουχεῖ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ κόσμου σκάφος, ᾧ τὰ πάντα ἐμπλεῖ*; but a similar expression is used of the empire in Leg. ad Gaium 50: *παραπεμφθεὶς γοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνωτάτω καὶ τοὺς οἴακας ἐγχειρισθεὶς πηδαλιούχει τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων σκάφος σωτηρίως* (cf. also 149).

[3] It is not surprising that along with this group of meanings *λιμήν* developed a *sensus venereus*. It may be present in Empedocles fr. 66, where, however, Diels reads *λειμῶνας* with the majority of the MSS. instead of *λιμένας*. There is no doubt about it in Soph. O. T. 1208, although the context is serious, and Housman's conjecture (Journal of Philol., XX, 47) would bring it into 420 ff. also; with the ordinary text *βοῆς λιμήν* is a place that receives or rings with a cry. *λιμήν* is unmistakably erotic in Macedonius (A. P. 5. 234. 5–6); *ὅρμος* need not be so understood in Meleager (A. P. 12. 167; cf. 12. 159).

It is primarily a further extension of this physical meaning when death is spoken of as the harbor in which all human voyaging ends. The vogue of this figure was undoubtedly forwarded by the belief that the souls of the dead entered the lower world by crossing Acheron, as a striking passage in Aeschylus shows, although the word λιμήν is not used (Theb. 854–860, Tucker's text, but the ordinary numbering):

> ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον
> ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν
> πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται
> τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα,
> τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον
> πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

"Friends, down the wind of wailing ply about your heads the oar-beat of your hands, which ever sends on its way across Acheron the undecked black-draped mission-ship, to the land where Apollo walks not, the sunless land that receives all into darkness."

Allusions to death as the final harbor are colored with feeling — resigned, hopeful, or gloomy, according to varying conceptions of the state of the soul after death — as some of the following examples show. In others the idea has become a mere commonplace.

Soph. Ant. 1284: ἰὼ δυσκάθαρτος Ἅιδου λιμήν.

Eur. Herc. 769–770:

> βέβακ' ἄναξ ὁ καινός, ὁ δὲ παλαίτερος κρατεῖ,
> λιμένα λιπών γε τὸν Ἀχερόντιον.

An unknown tragic poet in Plut. Cons. ad Apoll. 106d:

> ὦ θάνατε παιὰν ⟨πῶς ἂν⟩ ἰατρὸς μόλοις·
> λιμὴν Ἀίδας ἀνιᾶν.

Sotades ap. Stob. 4, 52b, 31:

> πάντων ὁ λιμὴν τῶν μερόπων ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν.

Leon. Tar., A(nthologia) P(alatina), 7,452 (cf. also 7, 264):

> κοινὸς πᾶσι λιμὴν Ἀΐδης.

Antip. Sid., A. P. 7, 498:

τὸν Λήθης αὐτὸς ἔδυ λιμένα.

Ennius ap. Cic. Tusc. 1. 44. 107: neque sepulcrum quo recipiat habeat, portum corporis. Cf. Ael. V. H. 4. 7: *τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων σωμάτων ὅρμου,* of the grave.

Cic. de Senect. 19. 71: Sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem tam iucunda est ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

Tusc. 1. 49. 118: portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus; quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat.

Plut. de tranq. animi, 476a: *παραλόγου δέ τινος καὶ μεγάλου καταλαβόντος καὶ κρατήσαντος, ἐγγὺς ὁ λιμήν, καὶ πάρεστιν ἀπονήξασθαι τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ ἐφολκίου μὴ στέγοντος.*

Plut. non posse suaviter vivi 1103c: . . . *ταῖς δὲ δυστυχίαις ἀποστροφὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν καταφυγὴν καὶ λιμένα, πράττοντες κακῶς, τὴν διάλυσιν καὶ τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἀποβλέπουσιν.*

Epict. 4. 10. 27: *εἰ οὕτω τάλας εἰμί, λιμὴν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ λιμὴν πάντων, ὁ θάνατος, αὕτη ἡ καταφυγή.*

Long. de subl. 9. 7: *ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν δυσδαιμονοῦσιν ἀπόκειται λιμὴν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος.*

Seneca ad Polyb. 9. 6–7: omnis vita supplicium est; in hoc profundum inquietumque proiecti mare, alternis aestibus reciprocum et modo adlevans nos subitis incrementis, modo maioribus damnis deferens adsidueque iactans numquam stabili consistimus loco. pendemus et fluctuamur et alter in alterum inlidimur et aliquando naufragium facimus, semper timemus. in hoc tam procelloso et in omnes tempestates exposito mari navigantibus nullus portus nisi mortis est. — Cf. also Epist. 70. 3, of death: portus est, aliquando petendus, numquam recusandus, etc.; also de vita beata 19. 1.

IG II, 2081:

Κυδίμαχον χθὼν ἥδε ταφῆς στεγέεσσι καλύπτει
ὄλβιον εὐαιῶνα βίου πλεύσαντα πρὸς ὅρμον.

Kaibel, Epigr. Graeca 647. 5–6:

Ἀλέξανδρος ὅδ' ἐστί, Βαλεντείνῃ δὲ συνεύδει
κεἰν ἐνέρων λιμένεσσι μεγ' αἰνητῇ παρακοίτει.

Adesp. A. P. 9. 49:

> ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ Τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε· τὸν λιμέν' εὗρον.
> οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χὐμῖν· παίζετε τοὺς μετ' ἐμέ.

Palladas A. P. 9. 172:

> ἐλπίδος οὐδὲ τύχης ἔτι μοι μέλει, οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω
> λοιπὸν τῆς ἀπάτης· ἤλυθον εἰς λιμένα.

Idem, ibid. 10. 65. 5–6:

> ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
> εἰς ἕνα τὸν κατὰ γῆς ὅρμον ἀπερχόμεθα.

Joan. Chrys. PG 57. 374: καὶ γὰρ λιμὴν εὔδιος ὁ θάνατος.

A subjective quality of a more active kind is imported into the meaning of λιμήν and ὅρμος when the harbor is viewed as in some way or another desirable; one might say that with it the Greek words take on the emotional connotations that English-speaking people feel in "haven." These emotional suggestions are often on no high level. The harbor may merely typify escape from perplexities and vexations; but as we have seen in the preceding list of examples, even death is viewed as a haven when the ills of life are intolerable. By a bold metaphor a person may be spoken of as a haven of refuge, an asylum for the unfortunate or oppressed, and so both λιμήν and ὅρμος come to be associated with the idea of compassion and protection.

Aesch. Suppl. 470 f.:

> ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὔπορον
> τόδ' ἐσβέβηκα, κοὐδαμοῦ λιμὴν κακῶν.

Philemon (fr. 28 K.) ap. Stob. 4. 34. 19: λιμήν as an escape from trouble is implied by analogy; the passage is too long to quote.

Plut. de sera, 550c: ὅπως ὁ λόγος, οἷον εἰς λιμένα καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀποβλέπων, εὐθαρσέστερον ἐξαναφέρῃ, κτλ.

Cicero, who is fond of the figure of the haven, uses it of leisure (Brut. 2. 8), of solitude (de orat. 1. 60. 255), of the Roman senate (Off. 2. 8. 26), of exile (Caecin. 34. 100, exsilium non

supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii). Similarly Seneca, de brev. vit. 18. 1, uses *portus* of the life of retirement and reflection as opposed to the turmoil of a public career.

Aelius Aristides, Or. 46. 1 K. (after saying that he owes his recovery from a dangerous illness to Zeus Soter and Poseidon Asphalios): *καί τινος οἷον λιμένος τῆς τε παρούσης ταύτης ὑγιείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας λαβόμενος καὶ τῆς διατριβῆς μεθ' ὑμῶν, κτλ.*

In the following group of passages words for harbor are applied to personal protection or to the protector himself.

Eur. Med. 768 ff.:

> *οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ᾗ μάλιστ' ἐκάμνομεν*
> *λιμὴν πέφανται τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων·*
> *ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀναψόμεσθα πρυμνήτην κάλων.*

Androm. 747 ff.:

> *ἡγοῦ τέκνον μοι, δεῦρ' ὑπ' ἀγκάλαις σταθείς,*
> *σύ τ' ὦ τάλαινα· χείματος γὰρ ἀγρίου*
> *τυχοῦσα λιμένας ἦλθες εἰς εὐηνέμους.*

Ibid. 891:

> *ὦ ναυτίλοισι χείματος λιμὴν φανείς*
> *Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ . . .*

Philo de spec. legg. 4 (de iust.) 201: *(τύχη) . . . ἢ . . . εὐπλοίᾳ βίου χρωμένους μόνον οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν εὐδαιμονίας κατέκλυσε.*

Ovid Her. 1. 110:

> Tu citius venias, portus et aura tuis.

Plut. praec. ger. reip. 823a: *(ὁ σώφρων ἀνήρ) . . . οἰκίαν τε παρέχων ἄκλειστον ὡς λιμένα φύξιμον ἀεὶ τοῖς χρῄζουσιν.*

In A. P. 7. 388 Bianor writes of a dead tyrannicide,

> *Γᾶ κεύθει τὸν ἑᾶς ὅρμον ἐλευθερίας,*

where Jacobs remarks, "quandoquidem in eo libertatis recuperandae spes erat posita."

The figure was used several times by Chrysostom:

PG 52, 644 (Ep. 64): *κοινὸν τῶν πενήτων λιμένα* (said of Sopatros).

PG 52, 512: *κοινός τις ἁπάντων λιμὴν γινόμενος* (of Job). There are similar passages in PG 48, 989; 55, 462, and elsewhere. Also in non-personal application, poverty is *λιμὴν εὐδιεινός*, PG 63, 137, and marriage is *λιμὴν σωφροσύνης*, PG 48, 539; the church is *λιμὴν ψυχῶν πνευματικός* (PG 49, 363).

Sid. Apoll. Ep. 1. 2: tunc petitionibus diu ante per patrociniorum naufragia iactatis absolutionis subitae portus aperitur.

A deeper emotional coloring, which in time makes these words religious symbols, comes when religion is felt as an intimately personal experience the effect of which is to shelter the human being from the dangers and pollutions of the world. This feeling is clearly implied in a passage of Euripides' Bacchae (902–911):

εὐδαίμων μὲν ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσας
ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ' ἔκιχεν.
εὐδαίμων δ' ὃς ὕπερθε μόχθων
ἐγένεθ'· ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἕτερον
ὄλβῳ καὶ δυνάμει παρῆλθεν.
μυρίαι δ' ἔτι μυρίοις
εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες· αἱ μὲν
τελευτῶσιν ἐν ὄλβῳ
βροτοῖς, αἱ δ' ἀπέβησαν·
τὸ δὲ κατ' ἦμαρ ὅτῳ βίοτος
εὐδαίμων, μακαρίζω.

The context shows that the poet is drawing a contrast between the deluding hopes that lead mankind astray and the peace and safety that fall to the lot of those whom the god (Dionysus) has taken under his protection, and whom he leads in the path of simple felicity, untroubled by restless strivings.[4] The horror with which Euripides, as an ethical thinker, regards the catastrophe of the play (cf. 1348) does not dispel the impression made by his sympathetic interpretation of the Dionysiac eudaimonia. What is important for our immediate purpose is, that it is in connection with a mystical privilege that the

[4] Philodamos, the author of the Delphic paean, seems to have used *ὅρμος* of the refuge from sorrow that Dionysus opens to his votaries (str. 3, 35 f.). For a full discussion of the passage see Vollgraff (as cited in n. 1 above), 178 ff.

word λιμήν is significantly charged with religious emotion; and considering the scanty sources from which we draw what we know of mystic religiosity, it is not surprising that we find similar uses of λιμήν only after a long interval.[5] In the second century of our era Apuleius (Metam. 11.15) puts into the mouth of a priest of Isis the words "Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti"; and the contemporary Aelius Aristides, with the feverish enthusiasm that is characteristic of him, expresses his personal devotion to Asklepios and Sarapis in similar imagery:

Or. 23. 17: *οὗτος λιμένων ἁπάντων ὀχωρώτατος καὶ βεβαιότατος καὶ πλείστους δεχόμενος καὶ γαλήνῃ πλεῖστον προέχων ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ἐξ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὰ ἐπίγνια τῆς σωτηρίας ἥρτηται.*

Or. 42. 1: *ὦ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κληθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν, Ἀσκληπιὲ δέσποτα, ὡς ἀσμένοις καὶ ὑπερποθοῦσιν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν οἷον ἐκ πελάγους πολλοῦ καὶ κατηφείας λιμένος τε λαβέσθαι γαληνοῦ καὶ προσειπεῖν τὴν κοινὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑστιάν, ἧς ἀτέλεστος μὲν οὐδεὶς δήπου τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ, διισχυρίσασθαι δέ ἔστιν ὡς Ἑλλήνων γε οὐδείς πω πλείω μέχρι τοῦδε ἀπέλαυσεν.*

The figure of the harbor is implied by the use of *προσορμίσασθαι* in Or. 45 (to Sarapis). 33: *ὅτε ἐπιρρεούσης τῆς θαλάττης καὶ πολλῆς πάντοθεν αἰρομένης, καὶ οὐδενὸς ὁρωμένου πλὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη παρόντος ὀλέθρου, χεῖρα ἀντάρας οὐρανόν τε κεκρυμμένον ἐξέφηνας καὶ γῆν ἔδωκας ἰδεῖν καὶ προσορμίσασθαι. . . .*

The line between religion in its higher developments and philosophy as a way of life is never closely marked; and as elevated language is in both a response to intensity of feeling, they are natural partners in the use of many striking images. The haven of rest and refuge is as appropriate a figure in the one field as in the other, and it is used with various nuances, from the serenity of the ethical idealist to the apathetic indifference of the disillusioned cynic. Even the astrologer, who has found his answer to the enigma of the world in the stars and their influence, expresses his deliverance from doubts in like language.

[5] Ovid's "vos eritis nostrae portus et ara fugae" (ex Ponto 2. 8. 68), said of the little figures of the imperial family sent him by a friend, will scarcely be thought to express any religious feeling.

When Philo applies the figure to wisdom, truth, or virtue, he has in mind, of course, his interpretation of those qualities according to the Law; and when Clement finds a haven in *σοφία*, he means by *σοφία* the Christian gnosis. But it is convenient to list the Jewish and the Christian passages here since they employ the same terms as the Greek philosophers.

Cic. ad Fam. 7. 30.2: quae quidem non ferrem nisi me in philosophiae portum me contulissem.

Virgil, Catal. 5. 8:

> nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus
> magni petentes docta dicta Sironis
> vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.

Philo de fuga 50 (C–W III, 121, 2 f.): *τὸν γὰρ σοφίας οἶκον εὔδιον καὶ γαληνὸν λιμένα εὑρήσεις, ὃς ἐνορμιζόμενόν σε ῥᾳδίως, ὑποδέξεται.*

Id. de decalogo 67 (C–W IV, 284, 10–12): *ὥσπερ τε ἀνερμάτιστα σκάφη σαλεύουσιν ὧδε κἀκεῖσε διαφερόμενοι τὸν αἰῶνα, μηδέποτ' εἰς λιμένα κατᾶραι μηδ' ἐνορμίσασθαι βεβαίως ἀληθείᾳ δυνάμενοι.*

Id. de somniis 2. 225 (C–W III, 294, 25–28): *σπουδάζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς τὸν φιλοπραγμοσύνης χειμῶνα ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἐν ᾧ σάλος καὶ κλύδων ἀεὶ κυκᾶται, τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδίοις καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμέσιν.* Cf. also de sacrif. Abelis 90 (C–W I, 239, 15), where *ἀρετή* is again the haven.

4 Macc. 7. 3: (an elaborate comparison of the "reason," i.e. the strict piety, of Eleazar, to a pilot guiding a ship through a tempestuous sea, ending) *κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἔτρεψε τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας οἴακας ἕως οὗ ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀθανάτου νίκης λιμένα.* Cf. Philo, legum alleg. 3. 80 (C–W I, 130, 16), where *ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος* is the *ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης.*

Lucian, Piscator 29: *ἐπὶ τὰ σά, ὦ φιλοσοφία, καλὰ ὁρμήσας ἠξίουν, ὁπόσον ἔτι μοι λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου, καθάπερ ἐκ ζάλης καὶ κλύδωνος εἰς εὔδιόν τινα λιμένα σπεύσας, ὑπό σοι σκεπόμενος καταβιῶναι.*

Clem. Alex. Protr. 107. 2: *χρὴ . . . ὅρμον τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκύμονα σωτηρίας σοφίαν νομίζειν.*

Critodemus (a Hellenistic philosopher of uncertain date) ap. Vettius Valens 3. 12 (p. 150, 11 f. Kroll): *ἐντυχέτω δέ τις τῇ λεγομένῃ ὁράσει Κριτοδήμου . . . πελαγοδρομήσας, φησί, καὶ πολλὴν*

ἔρημον ὁδεύσας ἠξιώθην ὑπὸ θεῶν λιμένος ἀκινδύνου τυχεῖν καὶ μονῆς ἀσφαλεστάτης. Cf. also book 9, prooemium (pp. 329–330 Kroll).

Corp. Hermet. 7. 1b: ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀγνωσίας κακία ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ συμφθείρει (συσσύρει Scott) τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι κατακεκλεισμένην ψυχήν, μὴ ἐῶσα ἐνορμίζεσθαι τοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας λιμέσι.

Eusebius ap. Stob. 3. 6. 34: (As winds drive a ship and batter it so that it does not obey the helm) οὕτω καὶ ⟨ἀκολασίη⟩ ψυχὴν δονέουσα καὶ ἀπειθέα νόῳ εἶναι καταναγκάζουσα εἰρηνεύειν καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐδίῳ καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ ὀρμέειν οὐ ξυγχωρέει.

Augustine contra Academ. 1. 1 (to be cited below). Cf. also contra Academ. 2. 1. 1; 3. 2. 3; de beata vita 1. 1, where the figure is developed at great length.

Theoctistae Gnom. 13 (ad calcem Stobaei IV, 1145 W–H): ναῦν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγκυρίου καὶ ⟨βίον⟩ ἑκ μιᾶς ἐλπίδος πρὸς τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἀπαθείας οὐ καθορμίζομεν.

The passage cited above from the Corpus Hermeticum has been discussed recently by Professor C. H. Dodd in his The Bible and the Greeks.[6] He suggests that the phrase ἐπικλύζειν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, which the Hermetic writer uses of the evil of ignorance, may indicate that he has in mind an allegorical interpretation of the Flood-story, and cites in support of this view a similar passage in Philo (de fuga 192). There Philo speaks of the soul in language suggested by the account of the Deluge in Genesis, even quoting certain phrases from it. As the cataracts of heaven were opened in the Deluge, so the soul is flooded from above by iniquities proceeding from the mind; as the fountains of the deep were uncovered, so the soul is overwhelmed by the outpouring of passions from below. For the idea of the haven of safety, Dodd cites Ps. 106. 30 (Hebrew 107), ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ λιμένα θελήματος αὐτοῦ;[7] the verse belongs to a long passage (22–30) in which the dangers of the sea are described at length. He points out that a little later on the writer "appears to be drawing upon the story of the Flood," since he says (34) ἔθετο . . . γῆν καρποφόρον εἰς ἅλμην ἀπὸ κακίας τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ. But a refrain intervenes after verse 30, and there is no reason to assume that the figure of the sea is

[6] Pp. 188–191, "The Deluge and the Haven of Salvation."

[7] A few manuscripts read αὐτῶν, agreeing with the Hebrew.

continued after that division; and further, the language of 34 probably refers not to the changing of land to sea, but to the degeneration of cultivated land to a salt desert. The word ἅλμη is applied to bad soil as early as Xenophon (Oecon. 20. 12), and "salt desert" is the phrase that the revisers used in translating the Hebrew original.

Since Philo several times uses the figure of the storm-tossed ship without any apparent reference to the Flood-story, and since the Psalmist's words do not necessarily convey such an allusion, the passage in the Hermetic corpus would seem to be merely another example of a time-honored metaphor which was much more commonly used by the sea-going Greeks than by the Hebrews.[8] We shall see when we come, next in order, to the examples drawn from Christian authors, that these writers bring into the more elaborate tropes various allusions that are indeed Hebraic or Christian; but these allusions are added to the traditional Greek metaphor, which still remains the true source of all the detailed comparisons drawn from sea-voyaging in the patristic texts.

It was noted above that the figure of the haven might be regarded as a part of a more complex figure in which life and its vicissitudes are likened to a perilous voyage. In grouping the following examples I have put the briefer tropes first, and grouped the more elaborate ones at the end.

Odes of Solomon 38 (tr. Bernard, Texts and Studies, VIII, 3): . . . the Truth took me and led me, and carried me across pits and gullies, and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me; and it became to me a haven of salvation and set me on the arms of eternal life. (The truth is here identified with Christ.)

[8] Attention may be called to the paragraph (Libellus 7. 1a) that immediately precedes the passage under discussion. There ignorance is compared to strong drink, with its nauseating and stupefying effects, while in 1b it is a flood. It is worthy of note that in a striking passage of Clement (Paed. 2. 28. 3) the drunkard is compared to a storm-tossed ship: *περικλύζεται μὲν ἡ καρδία πολυποσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς οἰνοφλυγίας θαλάττης εἴκασεν ἀπειλῇ, ἐν ᾗ βεβυθισμένον τὸ σῶμα ὥσπερ ναῦς δέδυκεν εἰς βυθὸν ἀκοσμίας . . . ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης, ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος, περιφέρεται τῷ κλύδωνι ὑπερεχούσης τῆς μέθης . . . τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀστοχήσας λιμένος, κτλ.*; and Blass (Hermes, XXXV, 342) conjectured plausibly from the latter part of the quotation that Clement was paraphrasing an Attic comic poet.

Melito, Homily on the Passion, § 102: (Christ is represented as saying) *ἐγὼ ὁ . . . καθορμίσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὰ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

Clem. Alex. Protrept. 118. 4: (after warning against the siren-like enticements of pleasure, quoting Odyss. 12. 184 f.): *ἐὰν ἐθέλῃς μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔσῃ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος, κυβερνήσει σε ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.*

Id. Fr. 5 (Stählin III, 222, 15–17): *. . . καὶ τὸ νόημα ἐπέρειδε τῇ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει ὥσπερ ἐν λιμένι τινὶ τῷ θείῳ φωτὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναπαύομενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλιᾶς τε καὶ πράξεως.*

Id. Paed. 1. 54. 3: (the teacher is the helmsman guiding his pupil through the tempests of the world) *ἕως ἂν ἀβλαβὲς καθορμίσῃ τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

Cypr. ad Donat. 14: Una igitur placida et fida tranquillitas, una solida et firma securitas, si qui ab his inquietantis saeculi turbinibus extractus salutaris portus statione fundetur. Cf. also § 3.

Lact. Epit. Inst. 47: Una igitur spes hominibus vitae est, unus portus salutis, unum refugium libertatis, si abiectis quibus tenebantur erroribus aperiant oculos mentis suae deumque cognoscant, in quo solo domicilium veritatis est, etc.

Joan. Chrys. de laud. hom. 5 (PG 50, 508): *οὕτω δυνησόμεθα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐπορίας εἰς τὸν ἀκύμαντον λιμένα καταπλεῖν* (of heaven).

[Clem.] Epist. ad Jacobum 13 (PG 2, 49): *πλὴν ἐὰν ὁμονοήσητε δυνήσεσθε εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀναπαύσεως ἐνεχθῆναι λιμένα, ἔνθα μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐστὶν εἰρηνικὴ πόλις.* Cf. also ch. 16 (PG 2, 52).

Cyril Alex. Glaph. 7 (PG 69, 360 A): *'ἔσται δέ, φησίν, καὶ παρ' ὅρμον πλοίων,' τοὐτεστιν ὡς ἐν λιμένι τυχὸν ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ἀκύμονι, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν ἀνάπτων τῆς ἐλπίδος τὰ πείσματα. ἐκ πολλῆς γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀποφοιτήσας ζάλης, ἐνορμισθήσεται λοιπὸν τῇ παρ' αὐτῷ χάριτι. . . .* Cf. also [Hippol.] Comm. Gen. fr. 68 (Achelis, pp. 76–77). For the figure *εἰς Χριστὸν ἀνάπτων τῆς ἐλπίδος τὰ πείσματα*, cf. Eur. Med. 768 ff. cited above.

The poets of the fourth-century Manichaean Psalm-Book, which Mr. Allberry has edited from a papyrus codex in the Beatty Collection, made much use of the figure, using either the Greek or the Coptic noun (*λιμήν*, *ⲙⲓⲣⲱ*) and the Coptic verb

mane (= ὁρμίζεσθαι). The following examples are the most interesting; the references are to the pages and lines of Allberry's edition.

52, 16: Come to me, my Savior, the haven of my trust.

58, 14: I found no haven save Christ. — Cf. "the mooring-harbor of life," 60, 24.

134, 21: . . . Christ: blessed is he that shall moor to him.

139, 19 ff.: The glorious column, which is the Perfect Man . . . the place of washing of souls, the harbor of them that are in the sea.

163, 27 f.: . . . lo, the harbor of peace, thou hast moored in it (so also 177, 22).

Hieron. Epist. 98. 1. 2 (Paschal letter of Theophilus): nec differamus tumentibus carnis fluctibus liberati inter diversa voluptatem hinc inde naufragia clavum tenere virtutem et post grandia maris pericula tutissimum caelorum intrare portum.

Statutes of the Apostles (Ethiopic), ed. G. Horner, Stat. 48 ad fin., p. 186: . . . God will reveal (it) to those who are worthy, while he steers the holy Church into quiet and a harbor.

Life of Abba John Khame, ed. M. H. Davis (Patrol. Orient. XIV, p. 368): Thou hast become a haven of salvation for many souls.

Cosmae et Damiani vit. et mirac. ed. E. Rupprecht, p. 27, 20: (a blind man) *εἰς λιμένα σωτηρίας ἦχθη, τὸ τέμενος λέγω Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ, κτλ.* Similarly also p. 74, 16 ff.

[Joan. Chrys.] PG 50, 819: *σταυρὸς χειμαζόντων λιμήν.*

Romanos (G. Cammelli, Romano il Melode, p. 172):

> *τοῖς πρὸς οὐρανὸν λιμέσιν οὐ προσορμοῦσιν*
> *οὐ κομιοῦνται τὸν ἄφθαρτον στέφανον.*

Goar, Euchologion (Venice, 1730), p. 599 (Pentecost): *ἰδοὺ γὰρ φόβῳ παρίσταμαί σοι, εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τοῦ ἐλέους σου τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ἀπορρίψας τῆς ψυχῆς μου. Κυβέρνησόν μου τὴν ζωήν, ὁ πᾶσαν ῥήματι τὴν κτίσιν ἀρρήτῳ σοφίας δυνάμει κυβερνῶν, ὁ εὔδιος τῶν χειμαζομένων λιμήν. καὶ γνώρισον μοι ὁδὸν ἐν ᾗ πορεύσομαι.* This prayer is also to be found in the Coptic Office of Genuflection on Whitsunday (Burmester, in Le Muséon, XLVII, 246).

Daniel, Cod. Liturg. IV, 670: *τίς χειμαζόμενος καὶ προστρέχων τῷ λιμένι τούτῳ οὐ διασώζεται*; — On p. 668 of the same volume the use of *λιμήν* in a prayer is a reminiscence of Ps. 106 (107), 30.

Manuel Philes (ed. E. Miller, Vol. II, No. 126), in a poem addressed to St. Demetrius:

> *ἔχοιμί σε πρόμαχον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις,*
> *ὡς ἂν διελθὼν εὐμαρῶς μου τὸν βίον*
> *εἰς τὸν γαληνὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ὅρμον φθάσω.*

Clem. Alex. quis dives salvetur 26. 2: (The rich are not excluded from salvation) *εἰ . . . βλέποιεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀτενεῖ τῷ βλέμματι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀγαθοῦ κυβερνήτου νεῦμα δεδορκότες, τί βούλεται, τί προστάσσει, τί σημαίνει, τί δίδωσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ναύταις σύνθημα, ποῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸν ὅρμον ἐπαγγέλλεται.*

Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II, pp. 76–79: a much mutilated psalm, the whole of which was based upon the comparison of the church to a ship. The significant phrases are these: p. 76, 29: "Come quickly, [board] the bark of the holy ones"; 77, 14 f.: "his ship into the harbor . . . the helmsman on high"; 78, 23 f.: "he will bring thee to the harbor of peace"; p. 79, 5–8, mention of storms, waves of evil, mooring in harbor.

Ephraim Syrus, Nisibene Hymns 1 (translated by Stopford in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series, Vol. XIII, 167): (Stanza 1 begins "O God of Mercies who didst refresh Noah"; stanza 3, end) O Helmsman of the Ark, be my pilot on the dry land! To it thou gavest rest in the haven of a mountain; to me give thou rest also in the haven of my walls!

Lactantius div. inst. 6. 8. 5: itaque si oculos in caelum semper intendas et solem qua oritur observes eumque habeas vitae quasi navigii ducem, sua sponte in viam pedes dirigentur et illud caeleste lumen, quod sanis mentibus multo clarior sol est quam hic quem carne mortali videmus, sic reget, sic gubernabit, ut ad summum sapientiae virtutisque portum sine ullo errore perducat.

Hieron. Epist. 98. 19. 4–5 (Paschal letter of Theophilus): nec obruerunt nos doctrinae hereticae gurgites intumescentes nec mendaciorum tempestas conterruit neque torrentes ini-

quitatis in medium eorum pelagus pertraxerunt . . . nec . . . ex omni parte ventorum flabra consurgentia ecclesiasticam navem subvertere potuerunt et studiorum nostrorum saevo turbine operire remigium. en cum salvatore domino instar discipulorum illius navigantes transfretavimus et portum quietis intrantes pulcherrimum divinorum voluminum litus amplectimur, varios carpentes flores scientiae, etc. (The words instar discipulorum illius show the influence of the Gospel story of the stilling of the tempest. The allusions to eddies, squalls, and currents should be compared with the passage from the Clementine Epistle to James, which is mentioned in the next paragraph.)

There are two passages in which the comparison of the Christian community or church to a storm-tossed ship is worked out in detail. The first of these, which makes no mention of the harbor, is an allegorical interpretation of Isaiah 18. 1–2, and is to be found in Hippol. de Christo et antichristo 59 (p. 39, 12 ff. Achelis). The passage is too long to quote; the Church is the ship, Christ is its pilot, the cross is the mast and yard. The prow is east, the stern west,[9] the waist the south. The two steering-paddles are the Old and New Covenants, the cables with which the ship is frapped (cf. Plato, Rep. 616c, Acts 27. 17) are the love of Christ, and so on with other details. In the other passage ([Clem.] Epist. ad Jacob. 14, PG II, 49), the ship of the church is interpreted with reference to the hierarchy — the master is Christ, the bow-officer (*πρωρεύς*) is the bishop, the sailors are the elders, the boatswains are the deacons, the stevedores (or lading-officers) are the catechists, the passengers are the congregation of the brethren. The waves, cross-currents and other dangers of the sea represent persecutions; hypocrites take their place in the allegory as pirates; whirlpools, shipwrecks are sins and their consequences. The writer concludes with the sentence *ἵνα οὖν οὐρίᾳ πλέοντες εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῆς ἐλπιζομένης πόλεως ἀκινδυνότερον ἐνεχθῆτε, ἐπηκόως εὔχεσθε.*

It is likely that the comparison of the church to a ship at sea became popular at an early period. Clement of Alexandria

[9] The significance of these words in connection with the eastward position in worship is developed by Dölger in the section of his Sol Salutis cited in n. 1.

(Paed. 3. 59. 2), approves, among other designs appropriate for the seal-ring of a Christian, a ship running before the wind (*ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα*) and it would seem that the symbol must have been known and frequently used at least by the period of his youth — the third quarter of the second century. Its popularity must have been due in part to Judeo-Christian associations. Of these one, the analogy of Noah's ark, is definitely attested. Hippolytus (Elench. 9. 12. 23) says *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κίβωτον τοῦ Νῶε εἰς ὁμοίωμα ἐκκλησίας ἔφη γεγονέναι*; and Tertullian (de idol. 24), quod in arca non fuit in ecclesia non sit. There is also an Arabic fragment of Hippolytus' commentary on Genesis (fr. 4, on Gen. 8. 1; in Achelis, p. 91) which draws a fanciful analogy between the Ark of Noah and Christ and his Cross. More important, especially for the more elaborate figures, is the influence of the Gospel narrative of Christ stilling the tempest. Some representation of that scene may well have suggested the idea of taking a ship running before the wind across a stormy sea as the type of the Christian community in a world of tribulation; the details of the allegory would of course be worked out in different ways according to the notions of different writers.

It was suggested above that the ancient comparison of life to a voyage, and death, or a world beyond death, as the haven at its end, is the basis for all these figures, and that the Christian "mythology" has merely been added to the old ground-work. Even in the details of the allegory there are many points of contact with pagan imagination. Christ is the helmsman of the Christian ship; but the idea of a god as a guide on a dangerous voyage is as old as Homer. The identity of the god who thus renders help is sometimes left uncertain, as in Homer and Aeschylus. In later times the Dioscuri often appear as saviors at sea; and from Pindar on some feeling that chance has a special part in the escapes as well as in the catastrophes of the mariner led the Greeks to place Tyche at the helm of the ship that symbolized the voyage of life. Even Plato finds a place for chance and opportunity (*καιρός*) as co-operating with God in the governance of the world, and Augustine follows him, although he afterwards had some qualms about the wording of

the passage where he does so.[10] It will be remembered that the Tyche of Alexandria, as she appears on coins, holds the steering-paddle (Roscher, s.v. Tyche, 1366) and so Isis also when identified with Tyche. Isis is also called ὁρμίστρια, "she who brings to safe moorings" (P. Oxy. 1380, 15 and 74). The following passages illustrate the matter of this paragraph.

Odyss. 9. 142–143:

> ἔνθα κατεπλέομεν, καί τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευεν
> νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, οὐδὲ προὐφαίνετ' ἰδέσθαι.

Pind. Ol. 12. 2–4:

> . . . σώτειρα Τύχα.
> τὶν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαὶ
> νᾶες.

Aesch. Agam. 661–666:

> ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος
> ἤτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ 'ξητήσατο
> θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἴακος θιγών.
> τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,
> ὡς μήτ' ἐν ὅρμῳ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν
> μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.

Plato, Leg. 709b: θεὸς μὲν πάντα, καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρός, τἀνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι ξύμπαντα.

Apoll. Rhod. Argon. 4. 931–932:

> ἡ δ' ὄπιθεν πτέρυγος θίγε πηδαλίοιο
> δῖα Θέτις, Πλαγκτῇσιν ἐνὶ σπιλάδεσσιν ἐρύσσαι.

Euryphamus ap. Stob. 4. 39. 27 ad fin.: ἐνίκασε γὰρ ὁ στραταγὸς καὶ σὺν τἀρετᾷ καὶ σὺν τᾷ εὐτυχίᾳ, καὶ εὐπλόησεν ὁ κυβερνάτας καὶ σὺν τᾷ τέχνᾳ καὶ σὺν τοῖς οὐρίοις πνεύμασιν.

Luc. de merc. cond. 1: τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπιφαινομένους . . . ἤ τιν' ἄλλον ἐκ μηχανῆς θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ καρχησίῳ καθεζόμενον ἢ πρὸς τοῖς πηδαλίοις ἑστῶτα καὶ πρός τινα ᾠόνα μαλακὴν ἀπευθύνοντα τὴν ναῦν.

[10] Contra Acad. 1. 1. 1; retract, 1. 1. 2.

Palladas, A. P. 10. 65:

πλοῦς σφαλερὸς τὸ ζῆν· χειμαζόμενοι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
πολλάκι ναυηγῶν πταίομεν οἰκτρότερα.
τὴν δὲ Τύχην βιότοιο κυβερνήτειραν ἔχοντες
ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους ἀμφίβολοι πλέομεν·
οἱ μὲν ἐπ' εὐπλοΐην, οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν· ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
εἰς ἕνα τὸν κατὰ γῆς ὅρμον ἀπερχόμεθα.

August. contra Acad. 1. 1. 1: sed quoniam ita comparatum est sive pro meritis nostris sive pro necessitate naturae ut divinum animum mortalibus inhaerentem nequaquam sapientiae portus accipiat, ubi neque adversante fortunae flatu neque secundante moveatur, nisi eo illum ipsa vel secunda vel quasi adversa perducat, nihil pro te nobis aliud quam vota restant, etc.

Thus it appears that there is an ancient Hellenic tradition of the comparison of life to a voyage, and that Christianity modified it only by the substitution of the objects of its own veneration for the divine or daemonic personages of the pagan world. Many of the allusions to the harbor, even in religious symbolism, are mere clichés, and this is just as true in some of the Christian writings cited as it is among the pagans. But where there is any warmth or depth of religious sentiment, the quality of that sentiment seems to be the same, whether the writers are Christian or heathen. So it comes about that this examination of a traditional image tends to support an opinion that I have expressed more fully elsewhere,[11] namely, that there is no difference in kind between the emotion experienced by the earnest Christian and that of the pagan who followed one of the higher forms of the older religions. That opinion, as might be expected, has not passed unchallenged; but I have seen no reason to change it, and it is not without support. As an indication that similar views are entertained by other students, I may refer to a note in Professor G. Méautis' book, Eschyle et la trilogie (p. 52). There he calls attention to the resemblance between Aesch. Suppl. 190, κρεῖσσον δὲ πύργου βωμός, ἄρρηκτον σάκος, and the opening of Luther's choral "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, ein gutes Wehr und Waffen"; and remarks, "Étrange rapproche-

[11] In this Review, XXX (1937), 138.

ment, preuve singulière de l'identité du sentiment religieux à travers des siècles."

Examples of the symbolic use of "harbor" in English religious poetry are very numerous; perhaps the most widely known is in Charles Wesley's hymn, "Jesus, lover of my soul," and several others are to be found in the section "For travellers by sea or land" in the hymnal of the English church. The religious use of the word has doubtless tended to increase the popularity of the figure in other contexts, even in the language of love ("Heart's Haven," Rossetti, The House of Life, sonnet 23).

POSTSCRIPT

The following passages are related to some of the foregoing examples closely enough to justify citing them.

Critias (fr. 4. 19 Diehl) calls sleep *τὸν καμάτων λιμένα*. Empedocles (fr. 112. 3 Diels) praises his Agrigentine friends for their hospitality as *ξείνων αἰδοῖοι λιμένες κακότητος ἄπειροι*. In fr. 98. 3 the words *Κύπριδος ὁρμισθεῖσα τελείοις ἐν λιμένεσσιν* are derived from an erotic figure though applied to a context of scientific speculation. One more instance of death as the haven is to be found in a late Attic inscription published by Koumanoudes, *Ἀττ. ἐπιγρ.* 1613 (not accessible to me; cited here from C. M. Kaufmann, Die sepulcr. Fenseitsdenkmäler, 179):

σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους τοῦτον ἔχω λιμέναν·
σωζέσθω ἰς πατρίδαν πᾶς ὁ πλοϊζόμενος.

More interesting is a fact developed in an article (called to my attention by A. D. Nock) in Jahrb. für Liturgiewissenschaft III (1922) 78–92. The author, Adolf Rücker, discusses a peculiar office of the Jacobite Syrian church called "The Coming into Harbor"; it belongs to the night service of the Monday of Passion Week. Strangely enough, nothing in the office itself explains the name, and Rücker is doubtless right in his belief that the name is simply derived from a phrase that occurred in an older hymn once sung in the office, and was continued in use after the rite had been much further elaborated. Rücker cites (p. 83) from the Antiochene-Syrian Breviary a number of liturgical phrases in which "haven" is used of the Passion, of peace, of heaven, and of eternal life with Christ. The figure was evidently in as high favor with the Jacobite church as it was with the writers of the Manichaean psalms.

AN EARLY EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK

In 1538 Melchior Sessa [1] published at Venice an edition of the New Testament in Greek. It was printed by Ioannes Antonius de Sabio,[2] and it consists of two volumes. About twelve years ago Dr. J. Rendel Harris of Birmingham gave the present writer the first volume of this work. He bought it of a dealer in old books, but he did not remember when or where he had acquired it. After many vain attempts to find Volume II I saw it listed in the catalogue of Bernhard Liebisch of Leipzig in the summer of 1939. I ordered it at once and received it before the outbreak of the war.

Sessa's edition of the New Testament, which is more correctly designated by the name of Sessa than by that of de Sabio, is noticed in several works on the printed text of the New Testament. Jacques Le Long mentions it briefly; but he certainly had never seen it, for he describes it as containing both the Greek text and the Latin version of Erasmus.[3] In point of fact the Greek text is given unaccompanied by any translation. Michael Maittaire, who says that he had seen only the first volume, also gives a brief account of the work.[4] Andreas

[1] Melchiorre Sessa, known as *il vecchio* to distinguish him from a younger member of the same family, was a Venetian editor and printer of the sixteenth century. Many other works besides this edition of the New Testament were published by him. See T. F. Dibdin, The Bibliographical Decameron (London, 1817), II, pp. 229 ff.; and E. Pastorello, Tipografi, Editori, Librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI (Florence, 1924), pp. 82 f.

[2] The de Sabios were a family of Italian printers whose members worked in Venice, Verona, and Rome. See M. Maittaire, Annales Typographici (Amsterdam and London, 1719–41), II, pp. 391 ff.; and T. F. Dibdin, op. cit., II, pp. 236 ff. In 1533 Ioannes Antonius de Sabio and his brothers printed at Venice an octavo volume containing the Pauline Epistles in Greek with three Latin versions, the Passio Sancti Pauli, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and the Letters to Seneca. It was published at the expense of Ioannes Antonius Garupha, and it includes only writings attributed to St. Paul and an account of his passion. Copies of it are said to be scarce. See E. Reuss, Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci (Braunschweig, 1872), pp. 31 f.; T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (London, 1903–11), II, p. 581; and C. H. Turner, The Early Printed Editions of the Greek Testament (Oxford, 1924), p. 25, note 1. Melchior Sessa entrusted the printing of his New Testament to Ioannes Antonius de Sabio. It is misleading to apply the Roman numerals I and II to the earlier work and to Sessa's New Testament respectively, as Reuss does in his Index I. Editionum (op. cit., p. 289). These are not different editions of the same work, but two entirely distinct publications.

[3] See J. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra (Paris, 1723), p. 206.

[4] See M. Maittaire, op. cit., III, Pars I, p. 277.

Gottlieb Masch, who had not seen the edition himself, quotes Le Long's description of it; but since other writers say nothing about a Latin version, Masch concluded that Le Long's statement was erroneous in this respect.[5] Édouard Reuss includes Sessa's edition in his standard work on the printed text of the New Testament,[6] and there is a reference to it in the catalogue of the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[7] Finally, the late Dr. C. H. Turner of Oxford mentions it in his brochure on the early printed editions of the New Testament in Greek.[8]

On the other hand most writers on the printed text of the Greek New Testament, both the earlier and the more recent, pass over Sessa's work in silence, e.g. Mill,[9] Wetstein,[10] Eichhorn,[11] Doedes,[12] Tregelles,[13] Scrivener,[14] Vincent,[15] Gregory,[16] Jacquier,[17] Kolmodin,[18] Goguel,[19] Nestle,[20] Kenyon,[21] Knopf,[22] and Vaganay.[23] Probably it was not taken into account by these scholars because its rôle in the history of the printed text of the New Testament was unimportant. It was an unpretentious *Handausgabe*, it reproduced in the main a

[5] See A. G. Masch, Bibliotheca Sacra (Halle, 1778–81), I, p. 204. Pettigrew also points out Le Long's error. See T. J. Pettigrew, A Descriptive Catalogue . . . of the Manuscripts and Printed Books contained in the Library of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex (London, 1827–39), II, p. 455.

[6] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 29.

[7] See T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, op. cit., II, p. 583.

[8] See C. H. Turner, op. cit., p. 25, note 1.

[9] J. Mill, Novum Testamentum Graecum (ed. L. Küster, Amsterdam, 1710).

[10] J. J. Wetstein, Novum Testamentum Graecum (Amsterdam, 1751–52).

[11] J. G. Eichhorn, Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Leipzig, 1820–27).

[12] J. I. Doedes, Verhandeling over de Tekstkritiek des Nieuwen Verbonds (Haarlem, 1844).

[13] S. P. Tregelles, An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament (London, 1854).

[14] F. H. A. Scrivener, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament (fourth ed., London, 1894).

[15] M. R. Vincent, A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (New York, 1899).

[16] C. R. Gregory, Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes (Leipzig, 1900–09).

[17] E. Jacquier, Le Nouveau Testament dans l'église chrétienne (Paris, 1911–13).

[18] A. Kolmodin, Inledning till Nya Testamentets Skrifter (Stockholm, 1915).

[19] M. Goguel, Le texte et les éditions du Nouveau Testament grec (Paris, 1920).

[20] E. Nestle, Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament (fourth ed., Göttingen, 1923).

[21] Sir F. G. Kenyon, Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (second ed., London, 1926).

[22] R. Knopf, Einführung in das Neue Testament (third ed., Giessen, 1930).

[23] L. Vaganay, Initiation à la critique textuelle néotestamentaire (Paris, 1934).

text which had already been published, and it contained no notes or variant readings.

Reuss describes Sessa's New Testament as "perelegans maximeque rarus in his terris," [24] and he adds that he was unable to find a copy of it anywhere in Germany. Probably, however, my copy of the second volume was somewhere in Germany when Reuss wrote.

Sessa's edition is certainly extremely rare. Besides his own set the present writer knows of only six other complete sets of the work. Two of these are in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [25] and two are in the Bodleian Library in Oxford,[26] one is in the British Museum,[27] and the sixth is in the library of Union Theological Seminary in New York.[28] Volume II is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This is the copy which Eugen Scherdlin examined for Reuss, and the latter based his description of Sessa's New Testament on notes made by Scherdlin.[29] Reuss himself never saw the work. Both volumes were in the large collection of Bibles owned by Augustus Frederick, son of George III and Duke of Sussex.[30] The duke died in 1843, and his library was dispersed. Where this set of Sessa's New Testament is at present, is not known. Probably there are also copies of the work in some Italian libraries, but concerning these I have no information.

Sessa's edition of the New Testament is a 16mo work in two volumes.[31] There are 616 numbered pages in Volume I and 476 num-

[24] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 29. I should not describe the work as *perelegans*. It is legibly printed, but it is typographically inferior to several other early editions of the New Testament.

[25] I learned about these two sets through a letter from the Prefect, Monsignore A. M. Albareda, dated June 19, 1940.

[26] See C. H. Turner, op. cit., p. 25, note 1.

[27] This set was bequeathed to the Museum by Mr. C. M. Cracherode, who died in 1799. He apparently acquired the books in 1783, for his monogram and the date 1783 are in the upper right-hand corner of the flyleaf of each volume. Where he obtained them is not known.

[28] This copy formerly belonged to Professor Isaac H. Hall. The two volumes are bound together as one.

[29] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 29.

[30] See T. J. Pettigrew, op. cit., II, p. 455; and Catalogue of the Extensive and Valuable Library of His Royal Highness, the Late Duke of Sussex (London, 1844–45), Part I, p. 68.

[31] The leaves of Volume I of my set are 10.2 cm. in height and 7.1 cm in width. The leaves of Volume II, having been trimmed slightly at the top, measure 9.6 cm. x 7.1 cm. In the catalogue of the library of the Duke of Sussex Sessa's New Testament is described as a duodecimo. See T. J. Pettigrew, op. cit., II, p. 455. On the other hand Reuss calls it a 16mo in his text and an 8vo in Index I. Editionum at the end of his work. See E. Reuss, op. cit., pp. 29 and 289.

bered pages in Volume II, and in each volume the pages are numbered separately. In addition to these there are nineteen unnumbered leaves containing introductory matter at the beginning of the first volume, and two unnumbered leaves at the end of the second volume. One of the latter, which did not originally belong to the book, is blank; and the cat-and-mouse device found on the title page is on the other.

The gatherings or quires consist of eight leaves, of which the first four are numbered; and catchwords are put at the end of the quires. Each page contains one column of text, and there are usually twenty-three lines to the page.[32] The chapters are indicated, as in the first edition of Erasmus; [33] but the text is not divided into paragraphs or verses. References to parallel passages and to quotations from the Old Testament are found in the margin. Neither the Ammonian sections nor the Eusebian canons are given.

The title page of Volume I reads as follows: THC KAINHC ΔΙΑΘΉΚΗΣ *ἅπαντα*. NOVI TESTAMENTI OMNIA. VENETIIS. Between the title and the word VENETIIS there is a cat, sitting and holding a mouse (or rat) in its mouth. The cat is enclosed in a cartouche of strapwork and foliage, but the printer's initials are not given.[34] As was said above, the same device is found on the last leaf of the second volume.

At the end of each volume there is a colophon. The colophons vary slightly in wording, and the one at the end of Volume II is in Greek as well as in Latin. That at the end of the first volume reads thus: Venetiis per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio. Expensis vero Dñi Melchioris Sessae. Anno Dñi MDXXXVIII. The one at the end of the second volume reads as follows: *Ἐν ἐνετίαις πόνῳ μὲν καὶ δεξιότητι τοὺ* (sic) *ἰωάννου ἀντωνίοὺ* (sic) *τοῦ σαβίου, ἀναλώμασι δὲ τοῦ Μελχίορος*

[32] Eleven quires (OO ξξ and PP οο in Volume I and Y χ, Z ψ, & ω, a α, b β, c γ, d δ, e ϵ, and f ζ in Volume II) have only twenty-two lines to the page.

[33] Some of the chapters are wrongly numbered.

[34] For a reproduction of this device see T. F. Dibdin, op. cit., II, p. 232. Several forms of the cat-and-mouse (or cat-and-rat) device were used by the Sessas. Sometimes the cat is standing with the mouse or rat in its mouth; and sometimes the printer's initials, M. S. (i.e. Melchiorre Sessa) or G. B. (i.e. Giovann Battista Sessa), appear. For reproductions of these see P. Kristeller, Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525 (Strassburg, 1893), p. 115 (Figs. II, III, and V) and p. 117 (Figs. II, III, IV, VI, and VII); F. Ongania, L' arte della stampa nel rinascimento italiano (Venice, 1894), II, pp. 61 and 105 (Figs. 62, 67, 68, and 72); M. J. Husung, Die Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen Italiens im XV. Jahrhundert (Munich, 1929), p. 142 (Figs. 205 and 206); and H. W. Davies, Devices of the Early Printers (London, 1935), pp. 234 f. For these references to works on the early printers and their devices I am indebted to Professor W. A. Jackson of Harvard University.

τοῦ σέσσου ἔτει χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ τριακοστῷ ὀγδόῳ. Venetiis per Io. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio. Sumptu vero et requisitione Dñi Melchioris Sessae. Anno Domini MDXXXVIII. Above the Greek colophon there is a register which gives all the quires in the two volumes. It appears from this register that my copy is complete.

Both volumes are bound in vellum.[35] Volume I contains the following: John Chrysostom's Memoir on St. Matthew the Evangelist,[36] the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. Each of the gospels is preceded by a life of the evangelist,[37] an hypothesis, a list of chapters, and a few hexameter verses.[38] Before Acts there is an Ἔκθεσις τῶν κεφαλαίων τῶν πράξεων. The contents of Volume II are: the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, the Ἀποδημίαι Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, and the Μαρτύριον Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου. Hebrews follows immediately after Philemon, as it does in the other early editions of the New Testament.[39] Each of the Pauline Epistles is provided with an hypothesis, a list of chapters, and a subscription. The hypotheses are taken from Oecumenius. As in some New Testament manuscripts, Hebrews has two hypotheses — one written by Oecumenius and the other the work of an anonymous writer preserved by Oecumenius. For each of the Catholic Epistles there is an hypothesis, and for each of them except 3 John there is also a list of chapters. As in the case of the Pauline Epistles, the hypotheses are derived from Oecumenius. The Apocalypse is the only book that is unaccompanied by any learned apparatus. In including materials of this kind Sessa's edition follows many minuscule codices of the New Testament.

Volume I of my set once belonged to the Church or Monastery of St. Benedict in Mantua. This is shown by the words *Est Sancti Benedicti Mantuani*, which are inscribed in brown ink at the bottom of the title page. A later owner has drawn a line through these words with black ink and written his own name higher up on the page. His

[35] When I acquired Volume II, it was bound in dark-colored linen. This cover, which was put on in Germany, has been removed; and Volume II has been bound in old Spanish vellum, so that it now matches Volume I.

[36] The title of this memoir is Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν. In describing Valderus's edition of the New Testament, which also contains this work of Chrysostom, Reuss gives the title as Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

[37] The life of Matthew was written by Sophronius (Σοφρόνιος sic); whereas those of Mark, Luke, and John are taken from the Synopsis of Dorotheus.

[38] There are four verses on Matthew, six on Mark, five on Luke, and three on John.

[39] On the position of Hebrews in the printed editions of the Greek New Testament see W. H. P. Hatch in The Harvard Theological Review, XXIX, pp. 149 ff.

name was Antonius, and he had the epithet *nigrinus*. Nothing, however, is known concerning him. The date 1708 has been inserted on a flyleaf at the end of Volume II. Probably someone acquired the book in that year.

The text of Sessa's New Testament was not constructed from Greek manuscripts independently of printed editions. What kind of text then is contained in these volumes? Two quite different answers have been given to this question. Masch says that Sessa followed the Erasmian editions, but he does not indicate what edition or editions were used.[40] On the other hand Reuss declares that the text of Sessa's New Testament is conformed to that of the Aldine edition of 1518.[41] This view is based on certain notes and *variae lectiones* which were communicated to Reuss by Eugen Scherdlin. It should be noted, however, that Scherdlin saw and examined only the second volume of Sessa's New Testament in Paris; and that consequently his investigation was limited to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. The catalogues of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the British Museum give Reuss's opinion without comment, except that the British Museum catalogue remarks that Sessa's edition contains the passage concerning the Three Heavenly Witnesses in I John 5:7 f. This so-called Comma Iohanneum is not found in the Aldine text, which in general follows closely the first edition of Erasmus published two years previously by Froben in Basel.

In order to ascertain the character of Sessa's text I have chosen at random fifty readings from the Four Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. In each case *variae lectiones* are found; and in each case I have noted the readings adopted by the following early editors of the New Testament: Aldus Manutius (1518), Gerbelius (1521), Erasmus III (1522), Cephalaeus (1524), Colinaeus (1534), Erasmus V (1535), Bebelius III (1535), and Valderus (1536).

Sessa's text agrees with the Aldine edition in ten and disagrees with it in forty of the above-mentioned readings. In other words the two editions coincide in 20 per cent of the readings and differ in 80 per cent of them. However, nine of the readings in which the two texts agree occur also in Bebelius III, and all ten of them are found in the edition of Valderus. In Apoc. 18:7, which is one of the fifty readings, Bebelius III, Valderus, and Sessa unite against all the other editions mentioned above in reading τοσοῦτον κεράσατε αὐτῇ

[40] See A. G. Masch, op. cit., I, p. 204.

[41] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 29.

βασανισμὸν καὶ πένθος. Moreover, as the British Museum catalogue notes, Sessa's edition contains the Comma Iohanneum, which is lacking in the Aldine text. This passage is included also in Bebelius III and Valderus. It is clear therefore that Reuss is wrong in saying that the text of Sessa's New Testament is conformed to that of the Aldine edition.

Nor is Masch strictly correct when he declares that Sessa's text follows the Erasmian editions. Sessa agrees with Erasmus III in forty and with Erasmus V in thirty-five of the above-mentioned fifty readings. The percentages of agreement are 80 and 70 respectively. In only one place, viz. Luke 22: 12, does Sessa side with Erasmus III and Erasmus V against all the other editions mentioned above in reading ἀνώγεον instead of ἀνώγεων.[42] Sessa's text resembles much more closely that of Erasmus III and Erasmus V than it does the Aldine, but it is not based directly on any of the editions of Erasmus. It may be said to be Erasmian only in so far as it carries on the Erasmian textual tradition.

The text of Sessa's New Testament agrees with the editions of Gerbelius, Cephalaeus, and Colinaeus more frequently than it does with the Aldine and somewhat less often than it does with Erasmus III and Erasmus V.[43] In two of the fifty readings, viz. πάντοτε in 2 Cor. 9: 8 and ἀφώριζεν in Gal. 2: 12, Sessa joins Colinaeus against all the other editors mentioned above. It is possible that these readings were taken directly from a Greek codex.

Sessa's text, however, agrees most frequently with the editions of Bebelius and Valderus.[44] Moreover, as has already been said, Sessa stands with Bebelius III and Valderus against all the above-mentioned editions in Apoc. 18: 7; and he sides with Erasmus III, Erasmus V, Bebelius III, and Valderus against all the others in including the Comma Iohanneum.

Ioannes Bebelius published his first edition of the New Testament at Basel in 1524. It follows closely the third edition of Erasmus, which had appeared two years earlier; but in a few places it departs from the Erasmian text. Reuss gives nine readings in which Bebelius I differs from Erasmus III.[45] In all these except one, viz. Luke 22: 12, Sessa

[42] This incorrect and poorly attested form was adopted by Gerbelius in Luke 22: 12. In Mark 14: 15 he reads ἀνώγεον.

[43] The percentages of agreement are as follows: for Gerbelius 64, for Cephalaeus 68, and for Colinaeus 68.

[44] The percentages of agreement with Bebelius III and Valderus are respectively 82 and 84.

[45] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 33.

agrees with Bebelius I against Erasmus III. Nevertheless Sessa did not use Bebelius I.

In the years 1531 and 1535 respectively Bebelius brought out the second and third editions of his New Testament, which are almost identical with his first edition. According to Reuss Bebelius II differs from Bebelius I only by adding the words καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος after εἰσπορευόμενος in Acts 9:28.[46] The present writer, however, has noted another case of disagreement between these two texts. In 1 Tim. 6:19 Bebelius I reads ἐπιλάβωνται, whereas Bebelius II has the incorrect form ἐπιλάβονται.[47] Sessa agrees with Bebelius II both in Acts 9:28 and in 1 Tim. 6:19. Reuss says that the third edition of Bebelius reproduces the second without any change,[48] and I have noticed no places in which they differ. If either of these editions was used by Sessa, it was probably the third.

Ioannes Valderus published an edition of the New Testament at Basel in 1536. According to Reuss complete copies of the work are *rariora*.[49] It follows Bebelius III except in a very few places. Reuss mentions only two readings in which Valderus deviates from the third edition of Bebelius, viz. ἐπὶ τράπεζαν in Luke 19:23 and πρόσκλησιν in 1 Tim. 5:21. The latter is one of the above-mentioned fifty readings. I have noted another case of disagreement between the two texts in 1 John 4:9, where Bebelius III reads ἐν ὑμῖν and Valderus ἐν ἡμῖν. In all three of these readings Sessa agrees with Valderus against the third edition of Bebelius. It seems clear therefore that Sessa based his text in the main on that of Valderus.

In March, 1538, Thomas Platerus published the first edition of his New Testament at Basel. Its text differs very slightly from that of Bebelius III. Reuss mentions only three readings in which the two works disagree;[50] and in two of them, viz. μετριθήσεται in Matt. 7:2 and καυθήσομαι in 1 Cor. 13:3, Sessa agrees with the third edition of Bebelius against Platerus. On the other hand in Reuss's third reading, viz. ἐν ἀνθρώποις in Luke 2:14, Sessa sides with Platerus against Bebelius III. This, however, is doubtless only an accidental coincidence; for Colinaeus and Erasmus V as well as many Greek manuscripts also read ἐν ἀνθρώποις here. Whether Sessa's edition appeared

[46] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 33.

[47] Cephalaeus and Valderus also read ἐπιλάβονται.

[48] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 33.

[49] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 34. The copy of Valderus which I have used belongs to the Harvard Theological School. It is bound in one thick volume and is complete. There is an incomplete copy in the library of Union Theological Seminary in New York.

[50] See E. Reuss, op. cit., p. 34.

before or after that of Platerus, is not known. But even if the latter was available, it apparently did not influence Sessa's work. Valderus agrees with Bebelius III in the three readings mentioned above.

As was said above, the Comma Iohanneum is contained in Sessa's New Testament. This passage is found in only two Greek manuscripts, and they are both of late date.[51] It was first printed in the Complutensian Polyglott, of which the New Testament part was finished in 1514. In each of these three places the Comma is given in a slightly different form, but it is clear that in each case the passage was translated into Greek from the Latin Vulgate. On account of certain adverse criticism Erasmus introduced the Comma Iohanneum into his third edition in 1522, following the text of Codex Montfortianus. Bebelius III, Valderus, and Sessa have the passage in the Erasmian form.

Another point of contact between Sessa's edition of the New Testament and that of Valderus is the extraneous matter found at the beginning and end of the two works. Both have at the beginning John Chrysostom's Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν and at the end the Ἀποδημίαι[52] Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου and the Μαρτύριον Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου. Immediately after Chrysostom's Ὑπόμνημα Valderus has Gregory Nazianzen's tract entitled Περὶ θεότητος. This may have been omitted by Sessa on the ground that its contents were not strictly germane to the New Testament.

Valderus's text, however, was not copied *verbatim et litteratim* in Sessa's edition. For in four of the fifty readings mentioned above Sessa departs from Valderus and has a reading which is found in one or more other early editions;[53] and again in four of the fifty readings Sessa disagrees both with Valderus and with all the other early editors who are mentioned above.[54] Each of the latter four readings is supported by many good manuscripts, and they have all been adopted by one or more critical editors. Sessa apparently took them from a Greek codex.

[51] Cod. 61 (Cod. Montfortianus) of the sixteenth century and Cod. 629 of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

[52] Valderus reads Ἀποδημία instead of Ἀποδημίαι.

[53] These readings are: ὅ in Matt. 27: 33 (with Gerbelius, Cephalaeus, and Colinaeus); ἀνώγεον in Luke 22: 12 (with Erasmus III and Erasmus V); πάντοτε in 2 Cor. 9: 8 (with Colinaeus); and ἀφώριζεν in Gal. 2: 12 (with Colinaeus). Ὤφελον in 2 Cor. 11: 1, which is not one of the fifty readings, is another case in point. Here Valderus has ὄφελον, but Sessa reads ὤφελον with Gerbelius and Cephalaeus.

[54] These readings are: παραλελυμένῳ in Luke 5: 24; αὐτῶν in Luke 5: 30; εἴχετε in Luke 17: 6; and σαῦλος in Acts 12: 25.

We are now able to form a judgment concerning the text of Sessa's New Testament. It is clearly an eclectic text. It is basically that of Valderus's edition, which was published two years earlier; but it also includes some readings found in earlier printed editions (e.g. those of Gerbelius, Erasmus III, Cephalaeus, Colinaeus, and Erasmus V) as well as some which were apparently derived from Greek manuscripts. Sessa's text was carefully prepared, but despite this fact the present writer has discovered a few obvious errors in it.[55]

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[55] Μετρηθήσετε for μετρηθήσεται in Matt. 7: 2; τῷ καὶ γένει for τῷ γένει in Mark 7: 26; and γαία for γαίῳ in 3 John 1. Valderus also has μετρηθήσετε in Matt. 7: 2.